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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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JOHN N. EDWARDS (deceased), one of the most widely known journalists of Missouri, was a member of Shelby's expedition to Mexico. He is regarded by some competent authorities as having been the greatest master of journalistic writing that the state has produced.

ALEXANDER McNAIR

BY WALTER B. STEVENS.

The inscription on the shaft at the grave recites that "Alexander McNair, first Governor of the State of Missouri" was "born in Mifflin County, Pa., May 5, 1775." This is at variance both as to date and place with most of the biographical notes on Alexander McNair in Missouri histories. The grandfather, David McNair, came from Donaghmore, County Donegal, Ireland, about 1832. He settled in Derry township, Pennsylvania, which is commonly given as the birthplace of Alexander McNair. The ancestors were of Scottish clan from near the head of Loch Lomond. Alexander McNair's father served in the Revolutionary war, dying from injuries received in the Battle of Trenton. Alexander McNair was two years old when his father died, which fact obtained from official records by Edward Brown, the biographer of Governor McNair, it is difficult to reconcile with the entertaining tradition about the coming to Missouri.

The tradition is that Alexander McNair was at Philadelphia college, afterwards the University of Pennsylvania, in the first year of the course when he was summoned home by the death of his father. There was some dispute about the settlement of the estate. The mother decided to leave it to a physical encounter between Alexander and his brother Dunning. Alexander lost. The tradition runs that "Alexander received a severe whipping at the hands of his brother, to whom he afterwards acknowledged he owed the honor of being the first governor of Missouri."

"The story is interesting," writes Mr. Brown, in the St. Louis Catholic Historical Review," but has little semblance of truth. His parents did not die at that time, and the paternal estate had apparently been settled when the widow filed her final account as administratrix, some six or seven years previous. Nor was it the disposition of Alexander McNair to make settlement with a brother in the manner

described." Mr. Brown quotes from a letter written from St. Louis by Captain McNair to his brother-in-law in Pennsylvania regarding his share in the estate:

"It is not possible for brother Dunning and me to settle our business without both being present. I am willing to take anything he will give me for the land and take in payment almost anything, rather than have a dispute with a brother."

Between the time of leaving college and the coming to St. Louis, Alexander McNair saw some military service which proved of decided value to him. He was in command of a company from Dauphin county during the Whiskey Insurrection. In the spring of 1799, he received a commission as first lieutenant when the Provisional Army was organized for the threatened hostilities with France. This war cloud passing, Lieutenant McNair and his comrades were mustered out. They were reviewed by Washington. In the family history of the McNairs preserved by the Missouri Historical Society, it is stated that Lieutenant McNair received personal commendation from Washington which he "always regarded as the greatest honor of his life."

According to these family records, Alexander McNair arrived in Missouri in the winter of 1804, in time to witness the raising of the American flag and the transfer of sovereignty in March. Close friendly relations with General William Henry Harrison had much to do with the auspicious beginning of Alexander McNair's careeer in Missouri. General Harrison was governor of Northwest Territory, a vast region east of the Mississippi, with headquarters at Vincennes. Almost immediately after Captain Amos Stoddard had received the Upper Louisiana Territory from Spanish Lieutenant-Governor Delassus at St. Louis, General Harrison was sent over to establish some form of government until Congress could act more definitely. Alexander McNair was made a justice of the court of common pleas. His associates were Charles Gratiot, J. B. C. Lucas, John Coburn, Rufus Easton, Richard Caulk, James Richardson and John Allen. These eight men, with Governor Harrison presiding, con-

stituted all there was of American government in Upper Louisiana for several months. They not only acted as justices but fulfilled the function of a legislature. They licensed several ferries at ten dollars a year. They put a tax of $100 a year on each billiard table, and five dollars on taverns. They provided that shaved deerskins might be taken for taxes from October to April at the rate of three pounds to the dollar, but that in the other months cash must be paid. They fined Sheriff Rankin six dollars for "insolence and contempt of court." They did many other things in the few months of their service until the American government of Upper Louisiana was organized with more formality and detail.

Captain McNair subsequently held the office of sheriff of St. Louis, being the fourth appointee to that position. Still later he was commissioned by President Madison to be United States marshal of Missouri Territory. From his arrival in St. Louis, 1804, until his death, March 18, 1826, he was almost continuously in positions of public trust and confidence. For some time after his arrival he held the office and performed the duties of United States Commissary.

When St. Louis was incorporated as a town under the act of June 18, 1808, Alexander McNair was one of the five trustees elected. Without waiting for approval by the court of the petition for incorporation, the trustees went ahead with the passage of ordinances. The record shows that Captain McNair, as he was best known at that time, and his associates signed the ordinance of September 21, 1808, establishing the patrol; the first police organization was so called. The trustees discovered that their work was premature. The court did not approve the petition until November 9, 1809. In December following the patrol and other ordinances were re-enacted.

The military service which Captain McNair had rendered before coming west prepared him to undertake the duties of adjutant and inspector general of the territorial forces of Missouri territory when the War of 1812 with Great Britain opened. At that time "Captain McNair's Troop of Horse" was one of the popular institutions of St. Louis. It

paraded on the fourth of July. After his service in the War of 1812 until his election as governor, he was "Colonel McNair."

The question of land titles was an overshadowing issue in the territorial period of Missouri. Alexander McNair early applied his practical turn of mind to the solution. As St. Ange and the Spanish lieutenant-governors who succeeded him assigned grants for colonial homes and other improvements to the pioneer settlers, records were made in several books called Livres Terrien, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. These Livres Terrien constituted the real estate records of St. Louis when American sovereignty stepped in. Some of the assignments had been approved by the higher Spanish authority at New Orleans. Some had not. There were conflicting claims to the same pieces of ground. Transfers had been made irregularly. With the influx of American settlers and with the coming of many young American lawyers eager for clients, there developed much confusion about land titles. Congress had up the subject at every session. Legislation was enacted as early as 1805. Supplementary acts were passed in 1806, 1807, and 1812. The last mentioned was the most liberal respecting the rights of the villagers based on the grants made before the American occupation. The best elements of the French population and of the newcomers got together and chose a committee of thirteen to represent them in the settlement of titles. Alexander McNair was one of the thirteen. The committee decided that the proper course would be to have the Livres Terrien, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 accepted as official records by the American government. They appealed to Frederick Bates, register of land titles for the territory of Missouri, to record these concessions. The activities of Alexander McNair in the settlement of the titles led to his appointment as register of the United States land office at St. Louis. The administration of the office added not little to Colonel McNair's hold on popular confidence and support. Shoemaker says in "Missouri's Struggle for Statehood," in discussing McNair's strength as a candidate for governor:

"His record as register of the St. Louis land office was also a recommendation for him. While holding that position he had deliberately disregarded the unpopular instructions of his superior and had granted more than a quarter section of land to individuals. This action had been opposed by the land speculators but had met with approbation of the pioneer settlers. Further, the fact that McNair's interpretation of the law on this point was found to be correct and the orders of his superior were later changed, served to strengthen his cause."

In the Missouri Intelligencer of August 19, 1820, this policy of McNair in the land office was cited in support of his candidacy for governor.

In 1814, Mr. Hempstead having declined reelection as Territorial Delegate in Congress, Colonel McNair, Rufus Easton who exposed Aaron Burr, Governor Samuel Hammond, and Thomas F. Reddick, preserver of the public school lands were candidates to succeed him. Easton was elected by a small majority.

In 1817 was held the first celebration in Missouri of Washington's Birthday. At the public meeting in Washington hall, the two men who were to be rival candidates for the office of chief executive of the new state three years later were the president and vice-president of the meeting, William Clark and Alexander McNair. That same year was organized the first board of school trustees for St. Louis. Alexander McNair was one of the seven trustees.

In the earlier years of his St. Louis life, Captain McNair was prominent in Masonic affairs. He was a member of St. Louis Lodge No. 111, of which Meriwether Lewis, then territorial governor, was worshipful master. On July 14, 1811, Captain McNair was chairman of the committee of arrangements for the masonic celebration of the festival of St. John the Baptist.

When the time seemed favorable, financially, for the building of the first Presbyterian church in St. Louis, Alexander McNair took active part in the movement. On the 11th of January, 1819, a public meeting was held at the

House of Rev. Salmon Giddings. The purpose was "to devise means for the erection of a Protestant house of worship." Stephen Hempstead who with eight others had organized the first Presbyterian church was chairman. Thomas H. Benton was secretary. A committee consisting of Alexander McNair, Rev. Salmon Giddings and Judge Nathaniel Beverly Tucker was appointed to draft a subscription paper. Catholic business men of St. Louis subscribed freely, three of them $50 each. Another account of that meeting which has been handed down is that McNair presided. That he was active and influential in the movement seems evident. Edward Brown, the vice-president of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis says:

"Although Governor McNair came from a family of Scotch Presbyterians and had been born and reared in a Protestant community, he died in the faith which had been so truly exemplified in the home life of his wife and children, and received the last sacred rites of the church at his death."

Mr. Brown quotes from a letter written from St. Louis, by Bishop Du Bourg, July 6, 1822, found in the Catholic Archives of America, at Notre Dame, Indiana:

"The whole family of our governor are practical Catholics; and the governor himself does not miss any of our church celebrations."

One of the largest and most notable meetings to protest against the delay of Congress in granting Missourians' petition for statehood was held at St. Louis, May 15, 1819. Colonel Alexander McNair was the president and David Barton the secretary. Benton was the chief speaker. This was the meeting which declared:

"That the people of this territory have a right to meet in convention by their own authority and, to form a constitution and state government whenever they shall deem it expedient to do so, and that a second determination on the part of congress to refuse them admittance upon an equal footing of the original states, will make it expedient for them to do so."

In April, 1820, almost immediately following the recep-

tion of the news that Congress had passed the act permitting Missouri to form a constitution and become a state, candidates for the constitutional convention began to declare themselves, most of them in response to petitions of citizens calling upon them to run. Alexander McNair was one of the thirteen anti-restrictionists candidates brought forward. Anti-restriction meant opposition to any restriction imposed in the proposed constitution upon slavery. As St. Louis, town and county, was entitled to only eight delegates in the constitutional convention, the candidates each chose a deputy to meet and determine the eight to run. McNair was one of the eight. Opposition to this charged that the eight were a lawyers' ticket, the result of secret caucusing. Each of the eight was called upon to declare his position as to slavery. McNair's platform, as reported in the Missouri Gazette of April 26, 1820, was for unrestricted slavery and for free white male suffrage based on age, residence and a slight tax qualification. He did not go into details on his slavery position as did one of the others who was defeated at the election. The restrictionists put up a strong ticket, in St. Louis, considering the personal standing of the candidates thereon, but were beaten by nearly four to one. The highest vote cast for one of the anti-restrictionists in St. Louis county was 892. That was the vote received by David Barton. McNair and Bates tied for third place with 881. The election was by ballot and the three days, May 1, 2, and 3, were allowed for it.

The convention met June 12th, as provided in the act of Congress. From the very thorough researches of Mr. Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical Society, it does not appear that McNair was among the most active of the framers of this first organic act of Missouri. He was not on any one of the four most important committees chosen at the organization of the convention. The lawyers were in the saddle. In analyzing the votes cast in the convention, Mr. Shoemaker found that McNair was in a class of ten delegates who were on the successful side in only half of the propositions presented. But McNair made a record in his

voting which he used to effect in his race for governor. He opposed high salaries and voted against making $2,000 the minimum for governor. In this course he was opposed to the dominating influence of the lawyer delegaties. Several of McNair's other votes on the losing side were against the provisions favored by the lawyers. Mr. Shoemaker suggests, "It is probable that his obvious inactivity in the convention and the inconspicuous part he played in the framing of the constitution were due to his political ambitions for the governorship." While the constitution was still in the making, Colonel McNair let it be known that he would be a candidate for governor. Some time in June he was reported to have predicted that he would carry St. Louis county by 500. He counted on the support of the "honest farmers."

It was openly charged by Colonel Charless' Gazette that a "lawyer junto" in the constitutional convention was framing a slate to control the offices of the new state. McNair was at first supposed to be the caucus choice but his independent utterances and opposition to the lawyers who controlled the convention showed the contrary. Territorial Governor William Clark, although at first declining to be a candidate because of the fatal illness of his wife, was induced to run against McNair, after Frederick Bates had been urged to be a candidate by the lawyers but had been found to be unavailable by the lawyers.

The constitution was signed and went into effect July 19, 1820. Two days later Colonel McNair formally announced himself in a letter addressed to "Fellow Citizens of the new State of Missouri," Governor Clark in announcing his candidacy addressed his letter "To the People of Missouri." He was absent from the state during the campaign, or the greater part of it. McNair made a personal canvas. He made no charges against Governor Clark but he did not spare the leaders of the constitutional convention for their secretive methods and for the failure to distribute the proceedings of the convention so that the voters could see how the delegates had voted. And in this connection he repeated his opposition to the high salaries of the governor and the

judges, pledging himself, if elected, to recommend to the legislature amendments to the constitution which would reduce these salaries.

Clark's friends carried on his campaign largely through the newspapers. They did not hesitate to attack McNair. They said, according to the newspaper propaganda in the possession of the State Historical Society of Missouri, that McNair had "officially done nothing in the convention except vote; that no part of the constitution owed any of its excellence to him; that while the names of Barton, Bates and Cook were familiar ones in the convention, the name of McNair meant nothing; that his political aspirations and ignorance combined were the reasons of his inactivity in the convention; that although he was a good citizen, a model husband, parent and neighbor, he lacked capacity and independence to hold the office of governor and could not be compared with Clark in knowing law." The quotation is from "Missouri's Struggle for Statehood" and is based on the files of the Missouri Intelligencer of August, 1820.

Private correspondence of the Clark people went farther in the criticism of McNair. John O'Fallon, son of Governor Clark's sister, and quite a young man, wrote from St. Louis to General T. A. Smith, July 27, 1820:

"The election is getting very warm—McNair is making the greatest exertions in the tippling shops of this place—he can at any time, now, be found in the back street, among the dirtiest blackguards—asserting that he must, and will, be elected—he is much involved in de.. (torn out) ing been protested in bank four times (torn out) to secure the votes and support of his creditors, assures them that his election will do much to extricate him from his embarrassments—"

Which goes to show that political campaign methods were not much better 100 years ago than they are in the twentieth century. According to the tax records, Governor McNair had prospered moderately well during his life in St. Louis. In 1811 his property was assessed at $841, ranking him among the fairly well to do at that time. The richest man in St. Louis then, Colonel Auguste Chouteau,

was paying town taxes on an assessment of $15,000. Only fourteen residents of St. Louis in 1811 owned "carriages of pleasure" and Captain McNair was one of them. In 1821 Governor McNair's property in St. Louis was assessed at $6,400.

Anton Reilhe McNair, a grandson of Governor McNair, a resident of Saratoga, New York, who has made some researches in regard to the private life of his ancestor, says, in a typewritten statement, that the McNair home up to 1811, was at Main and Pine streets. That was in the immediate vicinity of the Chouteau residences. Captain McNair, as he was best known at that time, moved to Main and Spruce streets, which was the location of his home until about the time he ran for governor. In 1819, Colonel McNair built a brick house on the east side of Broadway, then called Third street, near the present O'Fallon street. This was opposite the home of General Ashley, one of the chief social centers of St. Louis. Ashley was elected lieutenant-governor at the same time that McNair was elected governor.

In the McNair manuscripts of the Missouri Historical Society there is a letter from Colonel McNair to his brother in-law, James Horner, dated January 8, 1813, in which he writes of his financial condition:

"I have hope ahead but not much money on hand. I have a pretty good property in lands, house and lots in this place, tanyard in St. Charles, and five negroes, four large and one small in this place. My property in this county I think worth $16,000, and you are the best judge of my property in that country, but this is what keeps me without cash, paying for property. But now I have got hold of such property as I wanted and will try and make money soon. Was not much business for sheriffs in this county, therefore, at present make little by my office, but will keep it for better times."

The activities of Alexander McNair were by no means limited to office holding. In 1806, according to his biographer, Edward Brown, Captain McNair had engaged in mercantile business. In 1812, the firm of McNair, Thompson & Com-

pany was doing commission business in the house of Madame Robidoux, and the next year the firm of McNair & Chandler was the style of Captain McNair's firm. Captain McNair dropped business to lead his company of mounted rangers into the War of 1812, leaving St. Louis in July. Of that service he wrote in a personal letter:

"The unfortunate situation in which our country was placed last summer, having to defend itself against the Indians, made it the duty of some persons to take an active part. I being one of those persons who volunteered their services with a company of as fine fellows as ever went into the woods, which I had the honor to command, having been kept out from the middle of July until the month of October, during which time all my business lay, and the expense of the company, which I had pretty much to bear for my men and trust them until they would pay me."

When he was holding the office of register of the United States land office, he continued his private business, for a time in partnership with James Kennerly and later on his own account. His biographer concludes:

"It is not surprising that he may not have always had the ready money wherewith to meet his obligations for it was a time when skins and peltries were commonly used as a medium of exchange; furthermore the warm heart and open hand of Colonel McNair did not lend themselves readily to an accumulation of "hard money."

The campaign was lively while it lasted. It closed August 26th, Saturday. The election was held the following Monday. For governor 9,132 votes were cast. McNair received 6,420, and Clark, 2,576; the rest scattering. When the returns were canvassed by the legislature they gave McNair a majority over Clark of 4,020. In St. Louis county McNair polled twice the votes that Clark did, beating him over 400 and almost verifying his prediction that he would have 500 majority from the "honest farmers." In St. Charles county, McNair's vote was nearly three to one against Clark; in Cooper county, four to one; in Howard and Jefferson counties nearly two to one. These were the heavy counties.

As the constitution provided, the first legislature of the State of Missouri met in St. Louis on the third Monday of September, the 18th, 1820. At 11 A. M. the following day Governor McNair and Lieutenant-governor Ashley appeared before the joint session and took their oaths of office. At 4 P. M. that day, Governor McNair came before the assembly and delivered in person his message, a model of brevity. He made one recommendation which was that provision be made as soon as possible for the election of three electors to cast the vote of Missouri for President and Vice-President of the United States. Congratulating the assembly "upon the happy change that has just taken place in our political affairs" he said:

"From a dependent condition of a territorial government we have passed into a sovereign and independent state. We have formed for ourselves a constitution, which though, perhaps, not free from imperfections incident to all human institutions, does honor to the character and intelligence of our infant state and gives every reason to expect that we shall, without further difficulty, be admitted to the Federal Union."

In his messages and manners, Governor McNair steadfastly maintained that with the adoption of the constitution and the inauguration of the state government, Missouri put off territorialhood and became a political entity. When the long delayed proclamation of President Monroe declared Missouri's admission to the Union to be "complete," August 10, 1821, Governor McNair in his message to the legislature said:

"Since the organization of this government we have exhibited to the American people a spectacle novel and peculiar—an American republic on the confines of the Federal Union, exercising all the powers of sovereign government with no actual political connection with the United States, and nothing to bind us to them but a reverence for the same principles and an habitual attachment to them and their government."

The first week of the McNair administration brought

a sharp conflict between governor and senate. The governor sent in the nomination of Joshua Barton to be secretary of state. The senate refused to confirm the governor's action but nominated Joshua Barton for secretary of state and sent the nomination to the governor, insisting that such was the correct interpretation of the constitutional provision, "There shall be a secretary of state, whom the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate shall appoint." Governor McNair's message in reply, controverting this position of the senate and asserting the prerogatives of the executive is one of the most interesting of his state papers. The senate yielded. Plain and business-like were all of the communications addressed by Governor McNair to the legislature. They leave the impression on the reader that Missourians of 1820 made no mistake in giving him seventy-two per cent of the vote cast.

Governor McNair was a good politician, probably the best of his generation in St. Louis. "Politician" is used in the best sense. Within less than a month after his inauguration, the governor set about the redemption of one of his leading campaign pledges. On the 12th of October he called upon the legislature to present an amendment on the subject of salaries of governor, the judges and the chancellor. His position was that the fixing of these salaries was "a question of expediency, not principle, its amount must result from a consideration of the talents required in the office, the duties to be performed, and the ability of the people to pay; of course it must change with times and circumstances, and therefore belongs to ordinary legislation."

The amendment applying to his own salary, which Governor McNair proposed was "The salary of the governor may be either less or more than $2,000 annually, to be fixed by law from time to time." The constitution had provided that it should not be "less than $2,000." Other salary amendments recommended by the governor were similar. Under the constitution amendments were approved by one legislature, published in the newspapers and then went over for final action by the next legislature, it being the theory

of the constitution framers that this course would give the voters sufficient opportunity to approve or disapprove of the amendments in their selection of the members of the following legislature.

But the senate and house of representatives failed to get together on the form of the amendments and the subject went over to the next legislature where the governor renewed his efforts to reduce the salaries of state officers.

The first general assembly fixed the compensation of members at four dollars a day, with a dollar additional for the presiding officers. Mileage at three dollars for each twenty-five miles "they must necessary travel" was added. Governor McNair vetoed the bill, saying, "In pursuance of that system of economy which the financial condition of the state requires, I have already deemed it expedient to recommend a reduction in other branches of public expenditure. The allowance of the contemplated pay to the members of the general assembly would seem to me inconsistent with, and a clear departure from that system." The legislature passed the bill over the veto, twenty-eight to seven in the house and nine to three in the senate. This was the first veto in the history of Missouri legislation, and it did not stick.

Governor McNair appreciated the importance and dignity of the office of first governor of Missouri. He made it evident in many ways. When the legislature assembled in St. Charles, the temporary capital, Governor McNair rode over on horseback. It is tradition, according to Walter Williams, that he was the only state officer who wore a cloth coat, cut swallowtail, after the fashionable style of 1821. The governor was further distinguished by a tall hat of beaver. Most of the legislators wore homespun clothes and home-made shoes. Several came in buckskin leggings, fringed hunting shirts and moccasins. A few had wool hats, but the common head covering even of the public men of Missouri was the fur cap of coon or wildcat. The sartorial distinction of Governor McNair made its impression upon the legislators. It is handed down that one member, Palmer, from the Grand

River valley, insisted on occupying for a single night the same bed with Governor McNair, so that, as he said, he could go back and tell his constituents on Fishing River that he had "slept with the governor of Missouri."

This legislator, Palmer, or Parmer, for tradition preserves both ways of designating him, was not overawed by his public position. He took an active part in the proceedings. Governor McNair did not limit his relations with the general assembly to the delivery of messages. On one occasion Duff Green and Andrew McGirk became so heated in argument during a session that McGirk threw a pewter inkstand at Green. A fist fight was started. Governor McNair came forward and tried to restore order. He took hold of Green and was trying to pull him away. Palmer, who called himself, the "Ringtail Painter," pushed the governor to one side and shouted:

"Stand back, governor, you are no more in a fight than any other man. I know that much law. I am at home in this business. Give it to him, Duff."

Of the popular verdict upon Governor McNair's administration and of the esteem in which the family was held by Missourians in 1824, Elihu H. Shepard, the pioneer educator writing on contemporaneous authority, has left this view:

"Governor McNair's term of office was now drawing to a close in 1824. It had been an entire success, and he retired from its duties with the gratifying consciousness that his entire administration had given satisfaction to the people in all parts of the state, and his example was worthy of imitation. Indeed his official career was always a success in all stations. He had filled many offices, both civil and military, in the territorial state and Indian departments with credit to himself and satisfaction to the public. He owed but little to scientific training or brilliant abilities, but he possessed a sound judgment, an honest heart and patriotic purpose, from which no allurements could ever divert him. His house was the abode of hospitality and the high school of refinement in St. Louis and Missouri, and people from all parts of the state resorted to it as to the home of a brother

and were received by his accomplished wife with the affection of a sister or a mother and made welcome to all it afforded. Information was sought and given there by politicians of all parties with the utmost freedom and kind feelings, for peace and wisdom always presided there in the person of Mrs. McNair and her well trained children. St. Louis was favored many consecutive years by the presence of the presiding executive.

Governor McNair's domestic relations were fortunate and happy. Mrs. McNair came of one of the families of sisters notable in the early history of Missouri. The Camps settled in St. Louis long before the American occupation. They were of Connecticut stock. Rev. Dr. Ichabod Camp was descended from the pioneers of Hartford and Milford. He graduated from Yale when it was a three-story building with a cupola. He went to England and received his license to preach from the bishop of London. Coming west with a family of daughters and a retinue of slaves, after having preached in Virginia, he lived in Kaskaskia, the pioneer rector of the Episcopal church on the Mississippi river, the associate of Shadrach Bond and others prominent in the territorial days of Illinois. One daughter, Catharine, married John B. Guion, of Canadian birth. Because of unkind treatment she returned to her father's home. Guion followed her. Dr. Camp met his son-in-law at the door and tried to restrain him, was shot and killed. Another daughter, Stella, married Antoine Reilhe, a French gentleman residing in St. Louis in colonial days. The widow Camp, with her daughters, moved from Kaskaskia to St. Louis. There Catherine Camp Guion, after the death of her husband, married Israel Dodge, of Connecticut birth, who left her a home, 1,000 silver dollars, two slaves and 1,000 arpents of land. The youngest of the Camp sisters became the wife of Mackay Wherry, founder of a family, three generations of which held the same public office in St. Louis. Charlotte Camp married Moses Bates.

The Camp family was so well thought of by the Spanish authorities that the widow of Ichabod Camp received the assignment of a piece of ground 120 by 150 feet, at what

later became the corner of Fourth and Almond streets, on which to build a barn. The same Spanish lieutenant-governor granted Mrs. Camp and her son-in-law, Antoine Reilhe, a tract of 2,000 arpents along the River des Peres. Mrs. Stella Camp Reilhe bore her husband a son and two daughters, the eldest, Marguerite Susanne, becoming the wife of Captain McNair the year after he settled in St. Louis.

Anton Reilhe was of French birth, of a noble family, the De Reilhes, and highly educated. His wife dying when the children were small, Mr. Reilhe devoted himself to the education and training of them. Marguerite Susanne became proficient in French, Spanish and English, speaking all of them fluently. The father died when she was fifteen and thenceforward, until her marriage to Captain McNair, her home was with her aunt, Mrs. Dodge. There the wedding of Alexander McNair and Marguerite Susanne Reilhe took place in the winter of 1805. Manuscript records of the McNair family preserved by the Missouri Historical Society show that Captain McNair took his bride on a bridal trip, going on horseback to Pittsburg, where he transacted some business, visiting his mother and his sister, Mrs. James Horner, at Wilkinsburgh. Tradition hands down the impression that the wife of the first governor of Missouri was a woman of fine presence and very popular. The domestic relationships which Alexander McNair formed within a year after he settled in St. Louis undoubtedly were of material advantage to him.

Organized philanthropy for St. Louis had its practical beginning in the McNair home. The family was Catholic but when, in 1824, a movement to organize a society for charity service took form, representative women of all creeds came together in the governor's house. They chose the name of "The Female Charitable Society of St. Louis." Mrs. George F. Strother was elected first president and Mrs. McNair the first vice-president.

Ten children were born to Governor and Mrs. McNair. Two of them died the month that the father entered upon his duties as governor—September 1820—the oldest, Stella

Ann, a girl of fifteen who had been attending school in Kentucky, and Benjamin Howard, a boy of seven. A fever that was doing havoc in Missouri at that time was the cause.

Descendants of Governor McNair are widely scattered. Three of the second generation are at this writing residents of Missouri,—the mother of Paul Bakewell, Jr., who was Eugenia Stella McNair, Lilburn G. McNair, and John G. McNair.

One of the last public appearances of Governor McNair was in connection with the visit of Lafayette to St. Louis in 1825. The legislature having refused to make an appropriation for the entertainment and Governor Bates having announced that he would absent himself on the coming of the visitor, April 19, 1825, a citizens' committee was formed to "superintend and direct all arrangements for the reception and accommodation." Governor McNair was a member of the committee.

Retiring from office as governor in 1824, Colonel McNair received the appointment of United States agent for the Osage Indians, the principal tribe at that time within the State of Missouri. He went out to the agency in the winter of 1826, contracted a severe cold, which was followed by an attack of influenze, terminating fatally on the 18th of March, 1826. Mr. Edward Brown, the painstaking biographer of Governor McNair, says:

"From all accounts the disease was similar to the 'Spanish influenze' which recently visited this country with such disastrous results. It was called at the time the 'great cold.' In some parts of the country more than one-half the population were affected and in many cases death resulted within twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Complications of lung fever (pneumonia) and pleurisy were frequent and usually proved fatal."

His wife and eight children, the oldest eighteen years old and the youngest a babe of two weeks, survived Governor McNair. Mrs. McNair lived until June 17th, 1863.

Governor McNair was buried in what was known as the old Military graveyard, the remains being removed to Calvary

Cemetery when that was opened. The burial place is near the Broadway entrance in the oldest part of the cemetery. Until the observance of the centennial of Missouri's statehood, the grave was marked by a small headstone. In October, 1921, a monument of Missouri red granite erected by the Calvary Cemetery Association was unveiled with fitting ceremonies as part of the centennial observance.

THE GRAND RIVER COUNTRY

BY E. W. STEPHENS

Mr. Robert Beverly Price, president of the Boone County National Bank of Columbia, Missouri, will celebrate his ninetieth birthday on October 17th of this year. The event is a memorable one for several reasons and worthy of special record. It is extraordinary for any one to live for ninety years and to retain his faculties, physical and mental, in normal condition in a life replete with business activity and stressful experiences. He has been continuously at the head of a large banking institution in one community for sixty-five years, and is himself the acknowledged dean of Missouri bankers being oldest in years and service of any one in the banking business in Missouri.

He belongs to one of the historic families of Missouri. His grandfather, Mr. Pugh W. Price, came to Missouri from Prince Edward county, Virginia in 1837 and with his large family settled in Chariton county, Missouri. There were four brothers, Sterling, Dr. Edwin, John R. and Pugh, and one sister Miss Pamelia, who married Capt. Royall and lived many years in Columbia. All were eminent in their day and generation.

Mr. R. B. Price was the son of Dr. Edwin Price and lived with his father in Brunswick until 1850 when he came to Columbia to attend the University and has resided in that city practically continually since. In early life he developed artistic talent and for several years was identified with the geological survey of Missouri under Prof. G. C. Swallow, and was the draughtsman of the expedition. His sketches admirably wrought will be found in the volumes containing the reports of that survey, and were a valuable contribution to the history of the period. Many of the most important discoveries of the mineral and agricultural wealth of the state, including the lead and zinc deposits of southwest

Missouri and the great cement quarries near Hannibal, were made by this, the most celebrated and thorough exploration of the physical resources of the state that has been made. In this day they are a valuable source of information to those seeking investments in Missouri lands or mines or industries in different sections of the state.

Not the least interesting feature of Mr. Price's career is his memories of the section of the state in which he spent the first twelve years of his life in Missouri. He was six years of age when with his father he came to Missouri and settled in Brunswick which about that time was being laid out by Rev. James Keytes, a Methodist minister, who had founded the town of Keytesville six or seven years before, the town being named in his honor. Brunswick was named for Brunswick Terrace in England from which he came.

Mr. Price recalls the time when wagons laden with tobacco and honey and beeswax, and deer and other skins came to Brunswick by the hundreds, and their contents were shipped by steamboat to St. Louis from Brunswick, then an important shipping point. The Missouri river has since that time changed its current, leaving the town far inland.

Those were the good old steamboating, and coon and bear hunting days, far removed from the centers of civilization, but which in their isolation and the simple and hardy and adventurous lives of the people possess a romance of indefinable charm and interest. While the hardships and privations of the period were severe and the experiences were rude and rough the conditions were favorable to the development of character, and some of the strongest men and women in the history of the state were the products of it. Personalities large physically, mentally and morally were the evolutions of such a period.

His own ancestors were a fine illustration. His father and his brothers were men of gigantic frame and great force of character. His uncle, Gen. Sterling Price, is one of the foremost figures in the history of the state, was Speaker of the House of Representatives, State Bank Commissioner, member of Congress, Governor, General in the Mexican war,

and illustrious in being the commander-in-chief of the soldiers from Missouri who took part in the Civil War upon the confederate side.

Only a few counties remote and not far from the source of the Grand River, lived Alexander W. Doniphan, another Missourian who in physical stature, in eloquence, in chivalry, in leadership, stood like Saul, head and shoulders above his brethren.

Casper W. Bell and Richard H. Musser, distinguished lawyers of Chariton county, of unusual culture and ability, the Halls, William A. and Willard P., and the marvelous orator, James S. Greene, were among many others of that type who adorn the history of that period and section.

In our own day, Gen. Pershing, Gen. Crowder, Ex-Governor Alexander M. Dockery, Joshua W. Alexander, Secretary of the Interior under President Wilson, and Arthur M. Hyde, present Governor, are fine examples of the type of men whom that section has contributed to the history of Missouri.

The tumultous Grand River which now and then overleaps its banks and tosses and tumbles farmhouses and villages right and left is not an unfit symbol of the kind of men whom that country has repeatedly flung on to the stage of action in this state.

Among others eminent in those days were Duff Green, editor and publicist, Col. Hiram Craig, Drs. John H. Bull, H. W. Cross, John H. Blue, Drake McDowell and I. P. Vaughan, Major Daniel Ashby, and among the distinguished lawyers who occasionally practiced at the bar of that circuit of which David Todd was judge, were Abiel Leonard, Peyton F. Hayden, John B. Clark, Sr., B. F. Stringfellow, and Peter Able.

Mr. R. B. Price recalls with much interest a famous family by the name of Johnson, the different members of which resided in various sections of the Grand River country. Their father lived in Fayette, where most of them were probably born or to which they came when quite young. They had remarkable names. The boys were Nova Zembla,

BRUNSWICK, BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR.

At the junction of Grand river with the Missouri.

(From Stevens' *Cent. Hist. of Mo.*)

Adamantine, John and Sylvetus Fisher, and the girls were Italy and Sicily. Adamantine married a daughter of Ned Cabell, a well-known pioneer. Her name was Pocahontas, her father having claimed to be a descendant or remote relative of the celebrated Indian maiden. Her brother, Charles Cabell, was a brilliant young lawyer. The Cabell family was distinguished in Virginia as well as Missouri.

Nova Zembla was the oldest and best known of the Johnson boys. He had a large store at Chillicothe, and afterwards at Brunswick, and did a successful business. He later removed to New York where he and one or two of his brothers engaged quite successfully in the banking business.

Many of the humbler class of the pioneers were lacking in educational advantages, but those who were "quality," as the negroes called them, were people of high culture, of courtly grace of manner and many social accomplishments. They were well read, especially in the classics, and while the school advantages and the volume of literature were limited they were more proficient in all branches of knowledge than are the people of this day. The preachers and lawyers and statesmen were able and versed in the fundamentals of religion and government, and their deliverances in the pulpit, on the stump or at the bar were powerful and effective. The women, from the queenly matrons who presided over the homes, to the young women who led in the social life were attractive and charming. Nothing has ever been finer in hospitality than were the homes of that period.

The author of the music of "Ben Bolt," Nelson Kneass, lies buried in the Chillicothe Cemetery. The inspiration for that beautiful song came to him no doubt from the romantic environment of the Grand River Country. Gov. Hyde recently issued a proclamation calling for subscriptions to a monument in his honor to which Mr. R. B. Price has subscribed. The songs of a people are typical of their spirit. Such songs as "Ben Bolt," "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground," "Nelly Gray," "Uncle Ned" and others could only spring from an age and section like that of pioneer Missouri.

It is doubtful if we who enjoy the ease and comfort of the age of automobiles, Pullman cars, electric lights, and all the other modern conveniences recognize what we owe to the day of the ox-wagon, and stage coaches, and tallow candles, and the spinning wheel, which may have caused hardships and discomfort, and occasional profanity, but they produced men and women whose achievements are the glory of the state.

The barefooted boy who "suckered" tobacco in the day time and hunted coons at night, or the country girl who cooked pancakes and wore linsey dresses and a sunbonnet, and who rode on a side-saddle to the country frolic where she danced the modest cotillion until morning, may not have had the fancy dash of the modern beau or belle, but they left behind a civilization which their posterity cherish with pride.

No section of Missouri was more typical of the pioneer period than the Grand River Country in the thirties and the forties. Those were the days of slavery, which let us be thankful, are gone, but they had their compensation in the hospitality of the people, even of the slaves themselves.

Mr. Price recalls the fact that some opposed the running of the railroad from Hannibal to Brunswick for fear the Yankees would come and take their negroes away from them. So it went to St. Joseph, and in fact that section has been since that period more northern in its spirit and tendencies than has been that along the Missouri River farther south.

Up to the time of the building of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, the trade of Brunswick extended to the Iowa line and it cherished prospects of becoming a metropolis. But the building of that railroad dashed its hopes.

During the first fifteen or twenty years it was the center of a most interesting trade, was the rendezvous of the trappers and hunters for a hundred miles, a section that was a veritable paradise for the pioneer whose life and trade were along the beautiful streams, in the wild forest and among the pioneer scenes of that romantic period.

The social life of that time is one of its delightful memo-

GRAND RIVER VALLEY IN EARLY DAYS.

(From Stevens' *Cent. Hist. of Mo.*)

ries, the cultured women, the abundant board, the fiddle, the banjo, the piano, the fireside, the well-read and ample library, and all the happy elements of the real home. It had its faults. So has our day. But it had its benefits—not the least of which has been the splendid men and women left to commemorate it.

Whisky and ignorance were the evils of the olden time. We may be glad that both have largely disappeared. But we may also have reason to lament that with them has gone much that was not evil, but better than we have today, the hospitality, the thoroughness, the industry, the honesty and the economy that were the glories of those good old days.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

TENTH ARTICLE.

THE VIGILANCE ORGANIZATION.

"In the winter of 1841 to 1842 the settlements in the counties of Warren and Franklin, especially those bordering on the river were wildly excited because the popular physician, Dr. John Jones had been assassinated from ambush on his farm near Marthasville. Chance had willed it that a member of a band of counterfeiters had become known to him. The latter had been arrested and awaited trial. The assertions which Dr. Jones would have made in court, would have had much weight, and likely would have meant the conviction of the accused man. It was assumed that another member of the band had committed the deed of murder.

"For some time it had been suspected that somewhere in the wild hills, between the watershed of the Femme Osage and the Missouri, a band of counterfeiters were carrying on their unlawful business. It had been observed that strangers came to certain persons, but it was impossible to ascertain who they were, whence they came, and whither they went. On a certain day a young man, who lived in that region, came to the doctor to pay a bill, and remitted the entire amount in newly coined pieces of money. The doctor was suspicious, but let the young man go. When the money was subjected to careful tests, it was found, that every dollar was counterfeit. The young man was arrested and stated, that he had received the money from one of his neighbors. This neighbor had long been suspected of being in league with counterfiters. He was arrested and held for trial at the next circuit court.

"A son of the doctor had seen the man, who shot his father, and declared he could identify him again. A few of the old backwoodsmen started out to find the suspect.

The pursuit was a fine demonstration of the keenness, perseverance, and patience of these men of the woods, for they followed their man, the alleged murderer, thru Missouri, Arkansas into Texas and brought him back. The trial of this man of many aliases was a farce, for several witnesses from Tennessee succeeded in proving an alibi, the testimony of the boy, a blood relative of the slain man, was taken lightly and the jury brought in a verdict of 'not guilty.' If the pursuers of the alleged murderer had suspected, that such would be the result of the trial, they probably would not have brought the man back. It happened quite often, that stolen horses were brought back, but not the thief, and if one asked concerning him, the laconic reply was: 'He will not steal any more,' then no one asked any more questions, for the 'why' was well known without comment.

"After this incident it seemed as tho more pedestrians than formerly were seen in the great bottoms. Most of them pretended to seek work, but none of them worked for more than a few days, leaving the job under some trifling pretext. Some considered them to be accomplices of the murderer, others saw in them spying horse thieves, while still others suspected them to be counterfiters. Suspicion against these vagabonds reached a high pitch, and the settlers on the north side of the river resolved to clear the great bottom from Loutre creek to St. Charles of these fellows. In the counties of St. Charles, Warren, Montgomery, and Callaway extensive vigilance organizations were formed. Trustworthy persons have told me, that at first numerous mounted patrols scoured the extensive bottoms by day and by night. They stopped every pedestrian, whom they did not know, and subjected him to a sharp cross-examination. If he could not give a satisfactory account of himself and otherwise looked suspicious, the unfortunate one was tied to a tree and almost whipped to death, and even worse things are said to have occurred.

"It may be hard to tell how much truth and how much fiction there was in these reports, but this much is certain, that vigilance patrols were in full activity in the middle of

the summer of 1842. I know this from personal experience, since I fell into their hands myself.

"In the spring of that year I had been married to a young lady in St. Charles county, and in the summer I went over to get a cow, which my parents-in-law had, according to the custom of that time, given their daughter as a part of her dowery. Provided with a strong rope and a stick, I started out on my mission on foot, for a trip of twenty to thirty miles meant nothing to me at that time. At Washington I crossed the river in a skiff. The ferryman landed me on a sandbar, which existed in the middle of the river, and during this dry season extended entirely to the other side. After landing, I noticed a troop of horsemen on the upper end of the sandbar, but paid no heed to them. After I had passed the bridge over the Tuque creek, I suddenly heard the tramping of horses on the bridge and presently a command of 'halt' rang out. Surprised but unafraid I looked around and saw seven or eight horsemen galloping toward me, and in an instant I was surrounded. In whatever direction I looked, I saw only serious faces or the muzzels of guns pointed at me. I was subjected to a sharp cross-examination. They wanted to know who I was, where I lived, how long I had lived there, what I wanted to do with the rope, what my father-in-law's name was, whether I had just crossed the river in the skiff,—this point seemed especially important to them,—finally one of the older men said, if I had lived that long on the other side of the river, I ought to be able to call the names of some of the men living there. I recounted the names of almost half of the American population over there. They smiled and whispered among themselves. Now I began to ask, what they meant by this hold-up on a public highway, and what they wanted of me. After a pause one of them said: 'Well, sir, we are looking for some one, but you are not the one. You can go your way in peace, but if you meet anyone today, don't tell him that you have seen us. Good bye." With that the whole troop turned their horses, and in a few minutes had disappeared in the forest.

"I have never heard of a peaceful, law-abiding citizen or decent traveler, whether on foot or on horseback, being insulted or mistreated by these illegal patrols in the older counties. Their very existence was occasioned by the unsatisfactory execution of the law.

BAD ROADS.

"In 1834 St. Louis already deserved the name of city, but what a city compared with the present St. Louis. The oldest living citizens of St. Louis may perhaps be interested in a reminder of the condition of the streets as they were thirty years ago.

"In 1846 a beginning had been made at macadamizing one of the main roads to the west, the so-called Manchester road, but at the beginning of 1847 this road building had not extended far beyond the old Camp Spring. Camp Spring was situated about a mile west of the present court house. It was a little, natural park, with a restaurant, which was at that time often frequented by citizens of St. Louis, when they wished to make a little excursion with their families. Directly across from the restaurant a German by the name of Knecht had built a rather large hotel and entertained chiefly the farmers who came from this side to the city. The traffic was very lively on this street, milk and meat wagons, wood and coal wagons, entire caravans of farm wagons, and large herds of beef cattle passed on this road from early in the morning till late at night. It is therefore easily conceivable, that with the heavy traffic this road became bottomless when the ground thawed in the spring.

"During the last days in February 1847, I decided to visit my parents who were then living in St. Louis. A friend who had business in the city accompanied me. Even in Washington, fifty-four miles from St. Louis, we were advised to postpone our trip, since the roads in the neighborhood of St. Louis were said to be unpassable, and almost all communication with the city had been interrupted. Since we regarded this report as exaggerated, we rode on and found the road in places indeed very muddy, but not any worse

than they ordinarily were during this season. Toward evening it struck us, however, that during the entire day we had not met a single conveyance on this otherwise so lively road and had not overtaken any either. During the first night we stopped at the house of Mr. Brueggerhoff, whom I have mentioned before. Mr. B. had ridden to town, had been expected back for twenty-four hours, and Mrs. B. was very anxious, for fear that some misfortune might have overtaken her husband on the terrible roads.

"On the following morning, when we were just about to mount our horses again, two young Americans came by. They were from the northwestern part of the state and were on their way to the city. They were pleasant men and promised to be good company, so we joined them. Beyond Manchester the roads became worse and worse. Now and then we saw flocks of crows fly up and buzzards sat on the branches of nearby trees. Our approach had disturbed them in their meal, which they made of horses and oxen that had died in the mud. We met a few empty wagons, but could scarcely distinguish, whether horses or cattle were hitched to them. In many instances only the heads of the animals were free of mud, the rest of the body was covered with a uniform, thick coat of yellow mud. The road thru the long lowlands beyond Manchester was fearful. This region, which abounds in springs, was one continuous, almost unfathomable morass, so that the horses sank in to their bellies at every step. Finally we got onto higher ground, but since the sun was not high any more, we resolved to stop for the night with an American, who lived eight miles from the city, and risk the most dangerous part of the way in daylight. Before we reached the house, we were overtaken by a young fellow, whose large leathern, strongly chained and locked saddle bag identified him as a mail carrier to us. We interrogated him, and he told us that there were some places along the road, which were very dangerous to the uninitiated, but since he had to make that trip every day, he knew the bad places very well and would guide us, provided we would give him a good drink of whiskey from

time to time. We accepted his proposal unanimously, and at the next saloon bought a large bottle of whiskey. With the approach of twilight, we noticed that we were in the vicinity of the city, for all at once our horses had solid footing. We were on a part of macadamized road. We fancied that all danger was now over, but our guide pointed out that the real danger was yet ahead. The solid road ceased after a few hundred yards, for only an especially bad portion of the road had thus been fixed up. Now the mail carrier turned off the road to the left, and we rode up a small hill, from which we could overlook a part of the town. As far as we could see in the twilight almost all fences of the many fields and garden had been torn down. Supplies had to be gotten into the city, and since the roads were unpassable the teamsters had tried to get thru the fields. Over a width of a quarter of a mile, we could notice that teams had tried to get thru. All had not succeeded in this attempt. Several wagons had been abandoned, having sunk into the fields so that the front wheels were entirel out of sight. We saw men attempting to unhitch the horses from one wagon. Only the heads and necks of the animals were visible. The teamsters stood in mud up to their hips.

"The last short stretch of the way led straight into the city and was lined on both sides with board fences. Here the mail carrier got off. He gave to one of us his buffalo robe and to another the mail bag, and proceeded to give us directions. We were told to ride in single file directly behind his horse, but to leave sufficient space between each other, so that, in case of necessity, we could come to each others assistance, and not all get stuck in the mud at the same time. He hung the reins of his horse over his right arm and walked on the lowest plank of the fence, holding on to the uppermost plank, and thus pushing himself along. The rest of us rode as directed, but if our horses had not been very strong animals, we should never have gotten thru. With every step our horses sank to their bellies into the mud, and we could not allow them to rest for fear they would mire down entirely.

While our guide toilsomely worked himself along the

fence, he pointed to a spot, where we could see a couple of ox horns sticking out of the mud, and our guide said: 'In that hole there are several that you cannot see any more.' After ten minutes we were on the paving, and all danger was over. In the city the lights had already been lighted. The common danger had made good friends of us and we parted cordially. The thought of the return journey troubled us a great deal. On the morning of our departure we noticed that the ground had frozen hard during the night. When we came to the treacherous place, we saw a herd of steers that was driven over the one-time morass. We too crossed then in safety and in ease. That evening we stopped with Brueggerhof again, and the following evening we were at our own fireside.

"During the period of mud the prices of provisions, coal and wood had doubled in St. Louis.

"He who knows only the city of today, with all its improvements, will hardly be able to believe that thirty years ago one could get stuck in a morass, one mile from the courthouse.

LAND GRANTS AND RELATED MATTERS.

"The first land that came into private hands was in the form of the Spanish and later the French grants or claims. Such grants were often given as compensation for services rendered the government. They often embraced as many as 6,000 to 8,000 arpents.* An arpent is a fraction more than 9-10 of an acre. There were also other kinds of grants which were known as headrights.

"In order to encourage settlements, the Spaniards, and also the French, granted a piece of land containing from 300 to 600 arpents to every one who could prove that he had made a clearing on public lands, and who declared, that he intended to become a bona fide settler. This land the in-

*Under the word arpent we read in Webster's International Dictionary as follows: 'Arpent—an old French measure of land varying in value with the locality. The arpent d'ordonnance was equivalent to 1.28 acres; the arpent 1.04 acres, and the arpent de Paris to .84 acres. The last is in common use in parts of Canada.'

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terested party had to have surveyed, where and in whatever shape it pleased him. The description of the field-notes were then registered, and in agreement with them the deed was made out.

"Many of these clearings or 'improvements' consisted only of a few square rods of land, that had been planted to corn. A hut made of fencerails represented the dwelling house. Many of the settlers left their clearing, as soon as they had the deed in their hands, some returned and really did become settlers, many never returned, but squandered their land for a bagatelle, for in those days but little value was attached to the possession of land,

"Most of these claims were situated along the banks of the Missouri and the Mississippi and do not extend far inland. They are not always contiguous to one another, but, as a rule, they represent more or less regular quadrangles. Their boundary lines by no means always coincide with the north-south, east-west lines, but run as it pleased the fancy and convenience of the one selecting the land. A chart upon which a large number of these claims is represented does not look unlike a table on which a pack of cards has been irregularly scattered about.

"After the Louisiana territory had come into possession of the United States, the public lands were surveyed according to a definite and ingenious scheme, and then offered the settlers for sale. These surveys of the land into sections were made when Missouri, Illinois, Arkansas, etc., were still territories.

"The old government surveyors, according to instruction, marked only the outer boundaries of the sections. They determined the four corners of the section, between them the half mile corners and also the quarter section corners. The subdivision of the section into quarters, eights and sixteenths was the business of the county surveyors.

"The first surveyors were instructed to give ample measure. This direction they complied with in the most liberal manner, for most of the sections are too large, and sometimes indeed a good deal too large. Consequently a

section often contains more than 640 acres. Since the sections were subdivided evenly this excess was distributed evenly. A forty-acre piece therefore often contains from two to six more acres than the exact forty. The government asked no additional pay for such excess of acres, if on the other hand, due to the inattention of the surveyor or his assistants the section accidently was made a little too small, the government paid no rebate either. Many townships and sections remained fractional, if the survey was interrupted by navigable rivers, or by old Spanish land grants, for the government accepted the validity and legality of these old claims and their boundaries could not be trespassed.

"Very many of the first settlers had established homes in the woods and on the prairies of Missouri long before the public land had been surveyed. These squatters had the pre-emption right when the land was finally divided into sections. They were granted a period of two years during which they could buy the land, on which they had settled. The price asked them for this land was at the rate of $1.25 an acre. If they allowed this time to pass without taking advantage of their pre-emption right, any person had the right to buy the land from the government, without first compensating the squatter for his 'improvement.' If any one, however, was so foolhardy as to drive such an old settler from his house and home in this manner, even tho the law sanctioned it, he was not sure of his life. According to the code of morals of these old backwoodsmen such an expulsion was a crime deserving death. If a rifle bullet made an end to such an intruder, even tho the murderer was known, he had the sympathy of all the backwoodsmen, and as a rule there was no legal proceeding against him.

"After the public lands had been surveyed, land offices were established. The purchaser paid the fixed sum of $1.25 per acre and received a certificate certifying to the sale of the land. A duplicate of this certificate was sent to Washington to the General Land Office, and in a short time the purchaser received a land patent, made out on parchment, and bearing the signature of the President of the United States.

At first the sale of public lands proceeded slowly, but about the middle of the thirties the influx of immigration increased enormously. The low lands along the Missouri were occupied first, in the western part chiefly by slave holders, most of whom came from Virginia and Kentucky. The land along the smaller rivers and the great prairies remained almost untouched for many years. Very rarely did one find a settler in the narrow valleys or on the edge of the prairie.

"At the beginning of the fifties the opinion obtained generally that all the good land in Missouri had been taken up. In the land offices it had become very quiet. Then new life was instilled into the sale of public lands by the passage of the Graduation Act by Congress. It is, of course, apparent that the division into sections of so large a state as Missouri could not be accomplished in a short time. Many years passed before the last survey had been handed in. For this reason the public lands were not put on the market all at once but little by little. By the Graduation Act the price of land was greatly reduced in price, according to a definite scheme. Land that had been on the market for twenty years, and remained unsold, was offered at 12½ cents per acre, that is to say that for $5.00 one could buy 40 acres of land. Similarly land that had come into the market at later periods was reduced to 25, 50, and 75 cents per acre respectively.

"To prevent speculators from buying up large tracts of land and thereby preventing real settlements, it was provided than an individual could make only one purchase, and that not to exceed 320 acres, moreover this land had to be all in one tract. Settlers who already owned land likewise had the right to buy to the amount of 320 acres, but the new purchase had to be adjacent to the land which they already owned.

"It was never the intention of the national government to make money from the sale of land. The price of $1.25 per acre netted only a very slight surplus over the cost of surveying and the cost of maintaining the land offices. The early purchasers, had, so to speak, taken the cream of the

land. Only the poorer tracts and those parts that were totally unfit for agricultural purposes were left, and these did not seem to be saleable at the old price. For this reason the Graduation Act was passed, and it accomplished its purpose very well, for not only the poorer land but also thousands of acres of totally worthless stony hills were sold at the reduced rate.

"Soon after it became generally known that one could purchase forty acres of land for $5.00, an interesting spectacle could be observed in the street in St. Louis, where the land office was located. So dense was the crowd at times, that the police had to make way for teams to pass. Many persons who accidentally came to town and learned the cause of the great gathering of people remained in order to become possessors of 320 acres for $40.00. The regular officers of the land office were wholly unable to handle the crowd. Even after assistance had been provided, it was impossible to keep pace with the impetuosity of the buyers.

"The story is told that when the rush of purchasers was greatest, and the fear took hold of the crowd, that there would not be land enough to go around, some engaged shyster lawyers to assist them in the obtaining of certificates. In some instances they paid as much for the aid of the lawyers as they did for the land itself. Such unjust extortion the purchaser had only himself to blame for. If he had not been so land hungry and thoughtless, he would have given the agents time to look up the original field notes of the surveyors. The early government surveyors had been instructed among other things to note in their report for each section, whether it was forest covered or prairie land, whether the land was good or bad, level or hilly, dry or swampy, even the kinds of trees that abounded and the nature of their growth was called for. From these data any one, who knew anything about wild land, could judge, with a good deal of definiteness and certainty concerning the nature of the land. So for example most of the sections along the sources and watersheds of the Meramec, St. Francois, Black river, Current, the two Pineys, Robidoux and Gasconade were described in

the records as 'hilly, broken, not fit for cultivation.' Even such lands were at that time bought by the thousands of acres.

"Old farmers who wished to enlarge their possessions, or those, who had seen and picked out their land, knew just what they were getting for their money. But the great number of these impatient land buyers knew absolutely nothing of land values. Some had never been outside of the city. They imagined, that of such a large piece of land some parts must have good soil, and that they in no event could lose in their purchase. How bitterly many were disappointed! Since such buyers really knew nothing except, that they wished to have cheap land, they had to leave it to the agents of the land office to give them the numbers of the still unsold tracts of land. When they had exchanged their good money for a certificate of purchase, they were just as wise as before, for on such a certificate there was absolutely nothing but the designation of the several parts of the section, to most purchasers unintelligible, the number of the section, the township, the range, and the acknowledgment of payment received. With such a certificate in their hand, they knew neither in what direction, in what county, or at what distance they were to look for their land.

"The locating of the land often caused the new owner much trouble, loss of time, and expense. Without assistance most of them could not find their newly acquired possession. When finally an old settler or a hunter, acquainted with the country, or a surveyor led them into the labyrinth of stony hills, and told them that that was their land, most of them became dejected and forever turned their backs upon their land, and also upon their aircastles. Since they declined to pay taxes on a wilderness of stones, the land fell back to the state, after a certain number of years, so that this land was again as masterless as it had been before the first survey.

"After the war with Mexico, in 1846, Congress passed a law which granted to each soldier an extra compensation of 160 acres of land. Later this law was extended to apply to those who had participated in the campaign against Eng-

land in 1812, and also the few survivors of 1776 received this preferment.

"Everyone who had such a 'military land warrant' could pick out 160 acres in any state in which unsold public land was located. As soon as he had located his warrant the federal government issued him a title to such land. These warrants could be sold or transferred to others, and so there grew up a terrible abuse of these papers. Only a few of the discharged soldiers utilized their warrants and selected a good piece of land for the establishment of a future home. Most of them sold their warrants, with which they really did not know what to do. Sometimes when they had gotten into straitened circumstances they sold them for a mere pittance. According to the price of land, such warrants for 160 acres were worth $200, but for this sum the papers could not be sold. It is safe to assume that on an average they did not net more than $100. Trifling fellows even squandered their warrants, so to say, for a song.

"Those were the golden days for the landsharks. They had their agents buy great quantities of such papers, and since at that time public lands in the newer states, chiefly in Iowa and Wisconsin, were put on the market, these usurers, by virtue of these warrants, laid claim to enormous tracts of the best land, thereby forcing the real, industrious but poor settlers, who are a blessing to a new state, to either content themselves with poorer land, or to buy at the usurer's price the land which the latter had obtained for a mere bagatelle.

"The intention of Congress to recognize materially the services of the nation's defenders was laudable. As it turned out, however, a cash payment of the amount actually realized by most of the soldiers would have been but a small drain upon the public funds. The actual consequences of this law only led to the establishment of a monopoly of avaricious land speculators, and thus only a few useless bloodsuckers were fattened by the sweat of thousands of diligent and enterprising, poor workers. The intention of the law might have been reached if it had been so amended

as to provide against the transfer of the warrants under all circumstances, and to make it optional with the original holders of these warrants to either locate their warrants on public lands for their own use, or to take a stipulated equivalent in money to be paid out of the federal treasury.

"In 1851 Congress passed the 'Swampland Act.' At first this act was operative only in Missouri and Arkansas, but later it was extended to other states. The proceeds from the sale of swamp and overflow lands were to be added to the state school funds. The legislature of Missouri changed the act to apply to all counties having swamp and overflow lands. At first it was intended to apply only to the inundated counties in the southeastern part of the state. Later it was decided that the determination as to what constituted swamp lands was in each county to be made by a commission. In many counties these commissions put not only swampy land and land subject to inundation on this list, but occasionally also thousands of acres that never had been under water, high and dry prairie and timber lands. The lists setting forth the swamp lands were submitted to the land office at Washington, and after receiving its approval, the land was deeded to the state. The amount of swamp land seemed excessively high and made the officials suspicious, so that they consulted the old original field notes, where they discovered that some counties that had no rivers at all, and even some of the counties in the Ozarks, claimed to have lands that were subject to inundation. A searching investigation was instituted at Washington and the result was that many claims were thrown out. Nevertheless the total area of the so-called swamp lands in Missouri amounts to nearly 3,000,000 acres.

"Unfortunately a minimum price was not fixed for these lands when they were turned over to the counties. So it happened that, due to the incomprehensible blindness of some county commissioners, these, in part, very valuable lands were sold to cunning, rapacious speculators for a beggarly price, even as low as two to three cents an acre. It even happened that the school fund was cheated out of this pittance.

"Only a few years after the Swampland Act was passed Congress made very extensive land grants to various railroad companies. In a strip of land fifteen miles wide, on both sides of the proposed road, every other section of public land was given them as grants. The sections that fell to the railroads were always those that bore even numbers.

THE OVERFLOW OF THE MISSOURI IN 1844.

"In the ordinary course of events the Missouri river begins to rise about the fore part of June and continues to rise gradually till about the last of the same month. Then it subsides again in less time than it took to rise. During such years the river submerges all the sandbars but never rises to the top of the main bank. This regular rising of the water is caused by the melting of the snow in the Rocky Mountains.

"If it is considered that it requires at least ten days before the snow water from the mountains can arrive at the western border of the state, one can form an approximately correct idea of the vast extent of territory which has to be traversed by this water, and the immense amount of water which fills the river channel.

"These common events, however, assume quite a different aspect when during a severe winter the snow is very deep in the mountains, and when the snow does not melt gradually but in connection with heavy showers of rain. If in addition to this the tributaries of the Missouri within the state itself have risen in consequence of continued, general rains, and have swelled the river to an unusual height, a submersion of the banks and the bottoms must be the inevitable consequence, when the snow water makes its appearance at such a critical moment. This was the condition in the summer of 1844.

"As early as May, soon after the corn had been planted, frequent showers fell. These irregular, chance showers soon changed to general rains. It rained more or less almost every day. The cultivation of the corn soon became an impossibility. It still rained during the harvest time, that is during

the latter part of June, so much so that the small amount of wheat raised at that time could scarcely be harvested. One of my neighbors and myself were helping one another. Every few hours we were driven off the field by fresh showers. We were obliged to go barefooted into the fields, because with shoes or boots on we should have stuck in the mud.

"At the beginning of June the Missouri was higher than its highest stage in ordinary years. Still it continued to rise from day to day. The water in the tributaries had backed up from eight to ten miles, and had submerged all their bottoms near their mouths. Thru the sloughs, which perhaps indicate prehistoric river-beds, the water was effused into the bottoms from the rear, and very soon all the land, except an occasional elevated spot between the hills, on both sides of the river, was under water.

"Conditions similar to those that obtained along the Missouri also obtained along the Mississippi above its confluence with the Missouri, making the withdrawal of the water from the Missouri Valley very slow.

"The Missouri afforded a frightful and at the same time imposing aspect, when it had attained the highest stage. Multitudes of people gazed at it with awe for hours, witnessing the uninterrupted and incessant changes and alterations on the surface of the stream. As far as the eye could reach nothing could be seen but tree tops and water. Far away among the tree trunks the water was glistening in the sunlight. The gaps among the trees indicated that there fields had been submerged. A roof or a chimney projecting out of the water showed where the homes had been. The stream proper presented the most manifold entertainment. Even at some distance there could be heard the splashing and roaring of the mighty river. Large flakes of thick, dirty foam, embracing an area of acres, rolled down the stream. Bursting bubbles dispersed these large fields of scum into many small ones. Dense masses of driftwood were seen amid the foam. Fence rails, cord wood, furniture and occasionally whole log houses drifted by. The large giants of the forest glided down stream easily as if they had been matches.

Drowned livestock floated by, and occasionally a live animal was seen struggling with the waves.

"The settlers in the bottoms had not been surprised by the overflow. The people had been informed of the unusual amount of snow in the mountains by the fur-trading firms in St. Louis, who had been advised by the men in charge of their deposits on the upper Missouri, also by the remotest military posts and finally by the little steamers which ran toward the source of the river, as far as the latter was navigable. The old experienced settlers in the bottoms removed their families, their stock and a good deal of their personal property to the hills. The inexperienced and the negligent succeeded in saving their lives but lost nearly all of their property.

"In August the sandbars were visible again. All prospect of crops in the bottoms was gone, of course. Piles of sand had been drifted upon many fields. The fences had been almost all washed away, tho not all into the main stream. Thousands of rails had been lodged in the underbrush and among the trees. In some places they had been piled as high as a house. These rails were gathered up and hauled away as soon as the ground was dry enough. However, very few of them were recovered by the original owners. Whoever could reach such a pile of rails first, hauled away what he wanted, because nobody could tell from whence these rails had come.

"A great deal of livestock had perished. Some, which had chanced to survive the catastrophe, returned after a while to their old homes. Some horses had found a refuge on some isolated, elevated knolls in the bottoms. These poor animals must have suffered intensely from hunger, since all limbs and twigs to the thickness of a finger had been eaten away as far as they could reach them. It was related at that time that when the highest of these spots had been submerged, the horses had stood closely crowded together up to their bellies in water, while the poor colts were swimming around them.

"Strange incidents were related in those days. Among

others this one was recited. One of the small boats that went far up the river was returning at the time when the water was falling fast. In a region where the prairies border on both sides the stream had the appearance of a considerable lake. The crew was astonished one night that the boat had run aground and on the next morning they discovered that they had missed the main channel in the dark and had lodged far out on the prairie.

"Old people asserted at the time of the great overflow that in the seventh or eighth decades of the 18th century the river had been much higher than in 1844. It may be difficult to ascertain the correctness of this statement positively, since in those days white men had not yet settled permanently among the streams in the far west.

ABOUT CITIES AND TOWNS.

"At the time when St. Louis exhibited visible signs of future importance, prices were asked and paid for building lots which were considered very extravagant in those days, but now these prices would be deemed ridiculously trifling. It seems that this boom in building lots had given birth to a kind of mania for city founding. Many owners of land along the Missouri, Germans as well as Americans, suddenly came to the conclusion that their own particular piece of property was just exactly suited for a new city. Accordingly they proceeded to lay out a town, that is to say, they had a parcel of land surveyed in town lots and streets. The streets of such a prospective town were named after great men and women, then a nicely drawn design was lithographed, and the copies disseminated in every direction. By means of explanatory pamphlets and glowing advertisements the purchase of such lots was represented as a most valuable investment.

"Only a very few of these city-founders have been successful. Most of the attempts ended in the establishment of insignificant villages which fluctuate in a condition of being and not being. Still others of these lithographed cities have never outgrown their embryonic stage, and when the

last peg designating the corner of a lot had fallen down, the first and last trace of a town had disappeared.

"When we came to Missouri in 1834 the buffalo and the elk were still hunted on the sites where Kansas City and St. Joseph are now located. Hardly ten years subsequently these two towns, now the most flourishing and the most populous next to St. Louis, emerged in the immediate proximity of the endless prairies of the great West.

"More remote from the two large rivers, the Mississippi and the Missouri, there were, before the Civil War and prior to the epoch of railroad building, but very few groups of houses which deserve the name of town. It is true that every county had a county seat, and every county seat was called a town. Most of these towns, however, could boast of only a few stores, poorly supplied, a blacksmith shop, the courthouse itself, which in many instances was only a log house, and a very modest tavern for the accommodation of the judge and the attorneys during the session of the court, and sometimes a few private cabins.

"Springfield in the southwestern part of Missouri was distinguished very favorably from the other insignificant country towns. Its prosperity is attributed in a large measure to the very fertile prairie region in which it is situated, and to the trade which it enjoyed by being situated on the old road which for many years connected with the southwest, namely Texas and the Indian Territory. Quite early Springfield became a distributing point for goods from St. Louis to the surrounding counties. Since the southwest devoted itself chiefly to stock raising in those days, immense herds of livestock were transported thru that town on their way to eastern markets. Another source of income was the great number of 'movers,' who flocked to Texas after the war with Mexico, and who passed thru Springfield, where they replenished their supplies, at good prices, and of course only for cash.

"In spite of all these advantages, Springfield was even in 1867 only an average town. The completion of several railroads had been interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil

War. Only one railroad, the one from Hannibal to St. Joseph, had been completed. The most important railroad, from St. Louis to Kansas City, was in operation only as far as Sedalia, 190 miles west of St. Louis. The remaining 100 miles of this road to the state's western border were finished during the last years of the war. The southwest branch was completed as far as Rolla, about 100 miles east of Springfield. Thus the whole southwest of the state had been cut off to some extent from the rest of the world during the period of our domestic troubles.

"In consequence of these conditions Sedalia had been the terminus of the Pacific railroad for a term of four or five years, and during this time had grown to a town of great commercial significance. This town is also situated in the midst of a very fertile and comparatively level country. The whole trade of the west and the southwest of the state, as well as a considerable portion of the stock trade from Texas, was concentrated at this point. In a few years this little unsightly village, which had nothing to show in the spring of 1863 but one or two rows of very modest frame shanties had grown to be a town of imposing dimensions.

"During the fall of 1867 I spent several months in the southwest. In Sedalia, I found on both sides of the broad streets long rows of four and five story brick buildings and very prosperous stores and shops. From Sedalia I traveled leisurely thru the counties of Benton, Hickory, Polk, Cedar and Dade to Springfield in Greene County. After a sojourn of a few weeks, I continued my trip thru Lawrence county to Newton county, and after another delay I returned to Sedalia by a route thru the counties of Jasper, Barton and St. Clair, and lastly thru Benton again to Pettis county.

"Altho peace had been restored two years previously, the traces of the war could be perceived only too plainly. Many lone stone chimneys in the forest and on the prairies, and many waste fields without fences indicated the sites where before the war farms had been. The insecurity of life and property during the Civil War had repressed immi-

gration. After the restoration of tranquillity the influx of new settlers became greater than ever. Almost from the very hour when Missouri was proclaimed a free state immigration poured into every part of the state. Many of these immigrants only passed thru Missouri on their route to the southern part of Kansas, but thousands settled and became citizens of the state. During the fall of 1867 large and small trains of immigrant wagons were met or overtaken on every highway. The appearance of the teams generally betrayed whether the owner was well-to-do or poor. Some of these wagons were drawn by poor horses. In the conveyance one frequently saw a woman with a child at her breast. Behind the wagon some half-grown boys and girls, bareheaded and barefooted, drove some cows and calves. Not infrequently long trains of new strong wagons were seen, packed high with an overabundance of household goods and kitchen utensils. These wagons were drawn by splendid four-horse teams, and frequently a little herd of fine cattle of improved breed followed. At times even a carriage containing the ladies brought up the rear. At every place where the roads, thus frequented, crossed creeks or branches, the yet smoking remnants of campfires could be seen daily, where immigrants had spent the preceding night.

"Probably most of those who settled in Missouri about that time came from the free states, principally from Ohio and Indiana, but also many came from Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan. The latter were perhaps induced to migrate in order to escape the severity of the winters in their old homes.

"During my trip thru almost the entire southwest, I wrote a series of articles, some for a Republican newspaper, recently started, the 'Fortschritt,' and some in accordance with the wishes of some of the members of the State Board of Agriculture. The latter essays were written in the English language, and were embodied in due time into the annual official report of the Board of Agriculture of the General Assembly, and thus came to the knowledge of the general public.

"Let us now turn to some of the little towns along the Missouri, which are inhabited almost exclusively by Germans. At the time when the founding of towns was believed to be a solid basis of wealth and prosperity, two towns were laid out in St. Charles county, close to the banks of the Missouri. One of these towns was called Mount Pleasant and the other Dortmund. They were adjoining one another. Mount Pleasant was laid out by an American named Harold. The name of the town was later changed to Augusta. Dortmund was founded by a German, Julius Mallinkrodt. However, I am not aware that ever another house was built there except the dwelling and outbuildings of Mr. Mallinkrodt. This gentleman succeeded far better by the cultivation of an extensive nursery, which enjoyed a very good reputation for many years, than by the sale of building lots.

"Augusta, which was favored at that time by an excellent steamboat landing, grew rather rapidly at first. Since, however, all conditions upon which the growth of a town depends, except the excellent steamboat landing, were wanting, the village never enlarged far beyond 100 houses. The town is situated on a hill between two small creeks, which empty into the river above and below the town. The bottoms of these creeks are narrow, but they are densely settled by Germans. The connection with the railroad on the south side of the river was very inconvenient. Moreover, the once excellent boat landing was ruined of late by an enormous sandbar, which drifted up just in front of the town. Thus the farmers in the bottoms above and below Augusta are compelled to take their surplus either to Washington or St. Charles. Some of the farmers indeed ship their produce from some of the various boat landings along the river directly to St. Louis. Hence Augusta is compelled to rely for support upon the patronage of a rather limited, wealthy neighborhood.

"To the man who measures success only in the terms of business, the town of Augusta will not be particularly attractive. For genuine social enjoyment it has much in store. Among those who have rendered conspicuous aid

in this direction we should mention in particular John Fuhr. His father had bought a farm in the vicinity of Frierich Muench on Lake Creek in the year 1837. Besides farming he followed the trade of shoemaking. John was the oldest of five brothers. From early childhood he had evinced a good deal of talent and still more zeal for music. He had received his first musical instruction in Germany. Here in Missouri he instructed one after the other of his brothers in this beautiful art, as soon as they were large enough to handle a bow. Tho his little orchestra at first played only simple music, it was a real treat to hear genuine harmony again.

"After John had married he moved to Augusta where he carried on his fathers business, as shoemaker, on a greatly enlarged scale. Music was a real passion with him. Whenever he began to perceive the least talent for music in any of the young men of the town, he importuned them until they consented to let him instruct them gratuitously. In the same manner he prevailed upon his apprentices and journeymen who had an ear for music. By such indefatigable preservance he succeeded in the course of time to educate and organize an orchestra of some 18 young musicians. Thus the occasional balls were enlivened by imposing music, but also experts from operas and compositions of the old masters of music were played with great precision. John Fuhr awakened and enlivened in many the love for the delightful and enobling art of music. His concerts and other musical performances furnished his many friends many, many pleasant hours. In most of the country towns where Germans lived in sufficient numbers, regular bands were organized, but there were not many towns which could rival successfully with John Fuhr's orchestra in the little town of Augusta, as far as artistic adroitness is concerned.

"Washington is situated about eight miles above Augusta on the south side of the Missouri. It was founded by William Owens. Many travelers pronounce it one of the most pleasantly located towns on the banks of the Missouri.

"In the same manner as Augusta and Dortmund, so Bassora and Washington were at one time adjoining neighbors. Now, however, the two towns are united and are embraced by the same corporation. In the course of time, that part which is called Bassora may become the most beautiful part of the combined towns. It is laid out on a more level terrain, and, in conformity with the recorded disposition of the first founder, the streets must be from 60 to 80 feet wide, while those in the original Washington have a width of only 50 feet. The business section of the town is located in the old town of Washington.

"In regard to trade and commerce Washington has decidedly the advantage over other little towns along the river. The productive uplands south of the river are as densely settled as it is possible, and the roads leading into town from the south and west are at certain seasons of the year lined with teams daily. The communication with the large fertile bottoms on the north side of the river, in Warren county, is facilitated by a steam ferry. The two flour mills and the pork packing plants are provided from there, to a great extent at least, with enormous quantities of wheat, and in the winter with thousands of hogs.*

"Washington can be called a distinctly German town, since its commerce and still more the mechanical trades are in the hands of the Germans. However, there is also a highly respectable American element there. Among the Germans there are many who know but very little of the English language, on the other hand there are many Americans, especially among the younger generation, who speak the German with a good deal of fluency.

"The streets in the oldest part bear the names of the heroes and statesmen of the Revolutionary war. In a subsequent addition, the so-called 'Catholic Hill', the streets

*This was correct at the time when Mr. Goebel wrote his account. Since the completion of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas road on the north side of the river conditions have materially changed in Washington. Still there is much business transacted here. A shoe factory and several factories producing the Missouri Meerschaum pipes are in continuous operation. Here is where Anton Tibbe made the first corn cob pipe. Here also is the home of the Schwarze zithers.

are named after various forest trees. Finally that street which is officially known as St. John's street, and which has gradually been built up to a distance of two miles from east to west, and which is settled almost entirely by Germans, has, in addition to the official name, the following peculiar names, the west end is called Der lustige Strumpf, meaning the merry stocking, and the east end Der lange Jammer, meaning the long misery.

"West of the 'Catholic Hill', ascending gradually from the river, many lots have been planted with fruit trees and grapes. This part of town has been named Nierstein, thus commemorating the excellent Niersteiner wine grown on the banks of the river Rhine.

"The Turnverein, (that is the society of Turners), in Washington owns a large spacious hall, containing a stage with a rather complete assortment of scenery. During the winter theatrical performances are arranged every few weeks. After every performance the young folks amuse themselves with dancing, while the older gentlemen retire to some adjoining rooms to enjoy a social hour over a glass of beer.

"Washington has not grown over night like a mushroom, as so many other towns have done during the period of railroad construction. In the first half of the third decade scarcely more than a dozen houses, mostly very modest loghouses, were scattered along a hillside descending toward the river. There were no streets but well beaten foot paths. The forest bordered almost immediately upon this little group of houses. Even between the houses some isolated forest trees had been left standing. A little cemetery was laid out and used, not very far from the spot where the city hall now is. The dead interred there were exhumed many years ago and were laid to rest a second time in the old Barossa grave yard. To-day a broad sidewalk leads over the site of the old cemetery. In the olden times nothing could be seen of the town until one was almost in the midst of it, but now the steeple of the new Catholic church, the new school house and the more elevated part of town can

be seen at a distance of ten miles or more from some prominent points in the county.

"The town of Hermann, mentioned in various places of this account, is the most distinctly German town in the state. One of my old friends, now dead, used to remark at times, 'I am the only American in Hermann, and I am Irish.' A small colony of Germans settled in the narrow valley of Frain creek in 1837 and began to build a town there. It was the so-called Philadelphia Society.* An agent had been sent ahead of the immigrants to look up a suitable location for a town, and this man selected the Frain valley. It is difficult to say, what reasons may have induced this agent to make this selection. A great many members of this society had come with the intention to devote themselves to farming. Almost everywhere in the state there were at that time far more favorable localities for agricultural purposes than in that particular part of Gasconade county.

"The opinion is ventured by some that the favorable location for the cultivation of fruit and grapes was a deciding factor in the selection of this land for the settlement. It is, however, just as likely that the relative nearness of St. Louis (only eighty miles), as also the proximity of other German settlements, and the very low price of land considered by the Americans entirely worthless, may have been the principal motives for this purchase. It is also possible that this agent did not know anything at all about the country farther west. But be that as it may, the immigrants came, the town was laid out, and the building of houses was commenced.

"As long as their means were not exhausted everything went well enough, but then came hard times indeed. There was absolutely no opportunity to earn anything in this wilderness. Many had to live from hand to mouth. Many would have turned their back upon the new settlement if they could have found the means to go somewhere else. In a short time better conditions came. Many German families

*For a complete history of the town of Hermann see Bek's 'The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia, and Its Colony, Hermann, Missouri.'

settled all over the headwaters of Berger creek, on all the small tributaries of Frain creek, along all the tributaries of the Gasconade. In some instances they had picked their new homes among such rocky and steep hills that not Americans but bears, wolves, foxes and wildcats were crowded out by them.

"In this manner the northern part of Gasconade county soon obtained the numerical preponderance of population over the southern part of the county. The old county seat was at Mount Sterling on the Gasconade river, and was situated almost in the center of the county. Thru this village, consisting of only a few log cabins and the courthouse, which was also only a log house, the old mail route from St. Louis to Jefferson City had been conducted. With the exception of some Americans, who had settled in the very extensive Gasconade bottoms, the whole country was still very destitute of inhabitants. Thus the citizens of the county, after some exertion, succeeded in moving the county seat from Mount Sterling to Hermann.

"According to law and usage the county seat of a county should be as nearly as possible in the center of the county; but when this geographical center by chance falls into an uninhabited wilderness, it is a matter of course that the seat of administration is established at a place which is most convenient to the majority of the citizens. By the removal of the county seat new life was infused into the town of Hermann, partly by the construction of the new courthouse, and partly by the increased concourse of people during the sessions of the court.

"This original victory of the Germans over their native born fellow citizens provoked the jealousy of many of the latter. This jealousy was almost flamed into fanatical hatred by the unterrified attitude of the brave Emil Muehl, who boldly assailed the institution of slavery in the Hermanner Wochenblatt, edited by him. To be sure his opposition at that early time (1843) was a little too premature to do good. These reciprocally antagonistic sentiments frequently engendered bloody fights. The Germans, however, asserted

their position firmly and would not allow themselves to be intimidated, and still less could they be driven out.

"The cultivation of the grape proved to be a source of great income for Hermann and the surrounding country. During the fifth decade the citizens of Hermann did an extensive business when the railroad was built thru that section. Above and below the town the building of the road was greatly impeded and so progressed very slowly. For miles the bluffs along the river had to be blasted away, and the construction of a bridge over the broad and deep Gasconade river required a great deal of labor. Many of the engineers and workmen had established their headquarters at Hermann for a long time.

"After this period of prosperity the town came to a standstill. The cause thereof is easily found. Almost the entire country around Hermann is so hilly, stony and broken that the raising of small grain on a large scale is impossible. Consequently the exports cannot amount to much. In the bottoms of several creeks at some distance east and west of town great quantities of cereals are grown and more cattle are raised. But all these products are not shipped from Hermann but from the nearest depots along the railroad. The greater part of the surplus of products from the north side of the Missouri is shipped by steamboat directly. Furthermore, since the conditions of that region are not encouraging for the investment of capital in manufactories, the commercial intercourse and consequently the visible prosperity of this town cannot be very appreciable.*

"The principal business part of Hermann is near the river and the railroad. There the terrain is perfectly level. The houses stand close together and the streets are macadamized and provided with broad pavements. Only a little ways from this part of the town, the place assumes a more rural aspect. The houses are more scattered and of simpler construction. The large gardens around the habitations are planted with grapevines, fruit trees and vegetables of all kinds.

*For some years Hermann has had a branch of one of the big St. Louis shoe factories. (Translator's note.)

"A promenade thru town, especially when the fruit trees are in full bloom, will make an old German feel as tho he had been transported home, into one of the large, wealthy villages of his old country.

"The average enlightenment and the good hard sense of the citizens of Hermann and the country around it, is clearly manifested by the fact, that they have not wasted their hard earnings foolishly for the building of numerous ostentatious churches, notwithstanding many of them enjoy besides their good moral character, ample means to indulge in such useless extravagances. They have Protestant and a Catholic church of moderate dimensions but these two edifices are sufficient to afford an opportunity to all those, who may consider worshipping inside of a church an imperative necessity.* In lieu of a super number of churches a very large and spacious schoolhouse has been built, wherein the children are educated by good teachers during the greater part of the year.

"In Hermann the phrase 'rotation in office' is understood in its proper sense and meaning. Public officers, who have won the confidence of the people by their conscientious conduct in office, are generally re-elected, when their term of office has expired, until they either resign or die.

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*Many of the early settlers of Hermann were freethinkers in religious matters. The Protestant church referred to above belonged to no denomination. It was as late as 1901 that the congregation finally decided to become a member of the German Evangelical Synod of North America.

It is manifest that things must have changed a great deal since Mr. Goebel wrote. Both the Evangelical as well as the Catholic churches are handsome modern structures. In addition to these two churches there is also a Methodist church in Hermann.

A TRUE STORY OF THE BORDER WAR

BY B. F. BLANTON.

(From the Monroe County Appeal, Paris, Mo., April, 1921).

When I was a boy of nearly 18 years of age there was great excitement all over the state of Missouri, Kansas, the South and the New England states, over the admission of Kansas to the great union of states. The great question that had caused all the excitement and bitterness was whether Kansas was to be admitted as a free or a slave state. Hundreds and thousands of men from the East and South poured into Kansas for the purpose of voting for or against the question of slavery being recognized in the constitution of the new state. This naturally caused a great deal of hard feeling and finally in the late summer or early fall of 1856, led to a miniature war between the two factions, but during this little war but few men were killed in actual battle.

During August of 1856 many exciting rumors reached Central Missouri about how the Jayhawkers under the noted Jim Lane and John Brown, were robbing and murdering pro-slavery advocates who had settled in the then territory of Kansas. Old John Brown got most of the blame for the burning out of settlers who favored making Kansas a slave state, and a number of murders were committed for which Brown and his band were given credit. Whether this was true, I know not, but it is more than likely that not half as many men were killed as was reported, but certain it was that a large number of houses were burned down which belonged to men opposed to the wishes of Brown and his able ally, Jim Lane.

No doubt just such stories were told in the eastern states concerning the "Border Ruffians," as the Missourians were called by the Kansas Jayhawkers. Jim Lane's band frequently made raids over the line into Missouri counties bordering on Kansas and drove off stock and sometimes stole a

few slaves, which was apparently right in men holding their views. Of course all this worked up an intense feeling of bitterness in Missouri, and at last the tension was so great that it ended in companies of men being organized in many counties in this state and in other Southern states for the purpose of going to Kansas and protecting Southern people who had settled there, even though it meant war. It certainly did, but a war that ended almost as soon as it began and with very little bloodshed.

The excitement finally reached Howard county and a great meeting was held at Fayette which listened to some blood and thunder speeches which worked up the crowd until it was decided to raise a company of armed men and send them to Kansas to protect our people who had gone there to make their homes. A company was soon organized and Captain Congreve Jackson, a wealthy farmer, put in command. The company was composed mostly of boys of my own age who were furnished horses and guns by well-to-do farmers. We left Glasgow one bright morning, reached Lexington that evening and were put up at hotels. Here my captain brought me a pistol and I then felt that when we got into action we would soon settle the war for with our shotguns and single barreled pistols we felt certain we were invincible.

Our next stop was at a little place called Sante Fe, not far from Westport, but whether it was in Kansas or Missouri I do not remember, but I think it was just over the line in Kansas. Here an accident happened that caused gloom to settle down over the entire camp, for one of the most prominent men in the camp was accidently shot and killed. From that camp we were moved to one on Bull Creek in Johnson county, Kansas, where we remained several days and lived like kings. Our entire force was under the command of David R. Atchison, a former United States Senator from Missouri, who was President for one day. This is a fact even if so few people know it now.

While camped at Bull Creek, scouts brought the news to our commander that John Brown was camped at Ossa-

watamie with a considerable force, intending to form a junction with Jim Lane, then camped at Lawrence with a large force of his red leg band. Osawatomie was forty miles from our camp, but it was decided to send a force down there and wipe out Brown then clean up Jim Lane a little later. A call was made for volunteers and about 240, mostly boys from 16 to 20, volunteered, and were started for Brown's camp about sunset and next morning about sunrise came up with his pickets, nearly a mile from his camp. Here one of Brown's sons was shot and killed. Had he surrendered he would not have been hurt but he fired his gun to warn his camp and then turned and ran for it. Firing soon began from Brown's men at a distance of about half a mile. They used Sharps rifles, raising the sights and shooting a long distance for that day.

Our men were armed with double barreled shot guns that were of no use at that distance. During this long distance firing we had three men from Howard county wounded but none fatally. They were: Miles Baldridge, shot through the shoulders; Jim Jackson, shot in the mouth, and the late popular Major Joe Finks, shot on the little finger. Gen. Reed, in command, ordered a charge and the men rushed like an avalanche on Brown's camp, situated in the timber. The fight was right lively for a few minutes but the Brown men could not face the hail of buckshot and fled in all directions, Brown himself escaping by crossing the Ossawatamie River or Creek. How many of them we killed, I do not know, some of our men placing the loss at about 28 while Brown's only put their loss at about three or four. We did not lose a man and had but very few wounds.

Before starting on the return to camp a house in which were several barrels of whiskey was set fire and burned down in order to keep the men from getting it and getting drunk. On the return to camp when a mile or two from it, messengers were met who reported a large number of Lane's red legs near the camp threatening to capture the whole outfit, but when the men got in a line formed opposite Lane's battle line, both sides looked over each other and then Lane

and his men pulled away and retired to Lawrence without a gun having been fired by either party. A short time after this Gen. Atchison started on the march for Lawrence but never reached that town as we shall show.

After a short time our outfit reached a little town called Franklin and camped for the night intending to attack Lane at Lawrence early in the morning. But during the early part of the night a federal General and his staff rode into camp and spent the night. They came from Fort Leavenworth and ordered General Atchison to disband and go home else the Government would take a hand. General Lane got the same orders and the little armies broke camp and went to their homes. When nearing Franklin a man named Greathouse from Kentucky rode on ahead of our force and was shot as soon as he entered the town and was robbed of $3,500 he was carrying in his belt around his body or so his friends reported. He was given a military burial, the first I ever saw.

When we reached the little town, there was not a man, woman or child in it, having all fled to Lawrence on our approach. While with this little army, I, with 25 others, was sent out on a scouting party and while gone we visited Lecompton, then the capital of Kansas we supposed, as men were laying on the corner stone of what they said was to be the State capitol of Kansas. We finally got back to Westport landing, now Kansas City, which was then a small village of perhaps 600 or 700 people. Here we waited three days for a boat to take us to Glasgow and were later given a ten dollar gold piece for going through a bloodless war for two months.

Note—John Brown, after the trouble in Kansas, went to Virginia, where he, with a handful of kindred spirits, captured the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry and made war on the government. For this he was captured, tried, convicted and hung. I have always believed and still believe that Brown was a crazy man.

Jerry Smith, who carried on a blacksmith shop in Paris for so many years, and who died but a few years ago, was

one of the men who took part in the minature war in Kansas. He was the only man that I ever met in Monroe county who was in that scrimmage and I do not know of a man now living, except myself, who was one of the so-called "Border Ruffians."

PIONEER LIFE IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI

BY WILEY BRITTON.

FIFTH ARTICLE.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN MISSOURI.

On my return to Missouri from Texas, where I had gone to visit my mother's relatives, I found that the secessionists were not as numerous and strong in Southwest Missouri as they were in Texas; but the Southern leaders were aggressive and doing nearly all the talking, for the Unionists had not yet commenced to arouse themselves to the real danger that was rapidly approaching a crisis.

After considering the situation carefully, I was so thoroughly convinced of the approaching conflict in the spring, that I determined to stop at home only a few weeks and then proceed to Kansas. While at home I tried to persuade father to rent his farm and move with his family to Kansas, and take with him all his live stock; but the movement was found to be impracticable before spring, for during the year 1860 there had been the worst drought in that Territory known to the oldest settlers and Indians.

There had been only a few inches of rain in Kansas during the entire year, rivers and creeks had dried up, and many families from the Territory came into the western counties of Missouri the latter part of the year and told stories of near starvation and want that prevailed, and of the hundreds of families who had been obliged to leave their homesteads and return east.

At that particular time Kansas was not an inviting land to move to by a man who had raised bounteous crops on his deep-soiled farm on Shoal Creek, and who had an abundance of stock and well-fed cows.

The Crittenden Compromise was much talked about as a means of conciliating the South, and some thought that it might tide the trouble over for a while; but nothing came of it, and daily the pressure from the extreme southern States for Missouri to join them in the secession movement became stronger.

Military companies were being organized in Newton and in all the Western counties of Missouri, under the pretense that they were to be used only to defend the State against an invasion from Kansas. All the officers of these military organizations were commissioned by Governor Jackson, who did not conceal the fact that he was doing all in his power to have the State committed to secession.

Under the pressure of the excitement that prevailed, there were many young men who joined these organizations under a misapprehension of their real purpose, which was to oppose the authority of the Federal Government and to intimidate and overawe the Union sentiment where ever it existed. But the uncompromising Union men were not deceived and in many instances persuaded their sons to keep out of them.

Immediately after the election of Lincoln the leading newspapers of the South took up the discussion of seccession, and one after another of the Southern States called State Conventions, elected delegates, and passed ordinances of secession, seevring their connection with the Union.

Missouri was a slave State and had just elected a Governor committed to secession, although that was not an issue in the campaign, but an analysis of the vote cast for president, showed that the state was decidedly in favor of the Union. A large proportion of the Douglas Democrats, nearly all the Bell and Everett voters, and all the Republicans and Free Soilers, were in favor of the Union. Gradually the newspapers and influential men of the state were aligned on the side of the Union or of secession, and the people of every section were thoroughly informed by public speakers and printed addresses of the issues involved. There was a call for a State Convention and delegates were elected from

each senatorial and representative district, who would determine the action the state should take in the coming crisis. A decided majority of Union delegates were elected, and the Convention voted for the Union in spite of the efforts of the secession leaders.

Many of those who were not taking an active interest in the discussion and who seemed willing to drift along without taking sides, were approached by secession leaders and warmly entreated not to fight against their own people. There were a good many men who owned slaves who were strongly opposed to the state going out of the Union, and earnestly worked and voted for Union delegates. Although a majority of Union delegates were elected to the Convention, and even after the Convention voted against secession, the Governor and his advisers continued their efforts to have the State committed to the action of the Southern States.

They established a large camp of the State Guard of several thousand men under General Frost near St. Louis for the purpose of seizing the St. Louis Arsenal and arming the secessionists of the State, and they talked neutrality only for the purpose of deceiving the people and thwarting the Government in organizing and equipping troops and moving them through the State.

The Union men saw military organizations coming into existence all over the State, officered by secessionists, and knew that they were almost helpless to do anything to assist the cause they espoused with unflinching devotion. To me it appeared that the Union men would soon be put in a position where they would be subjected to a good deal of persecution without being able to do anything in behalf of their cause.

The situation was discouraging to the Unionists of our section, and I urged father the latter part of March to move his family and stock into Kansas, where his stock could live by grazing by the time he arrived there. He talked in favor of the plan, for he too, was satisfied that war was close at hand, but he thought it would be better to wait awhile and watch events. After the fall of Fort Sumpter I was con-

vinced that I could not longer feel at ease in Southwest Missouri, and immediately left home for Kansas.

On the day I had set for leaving home, a mass meeting was advertised at Neosho to be addressed by prominent secessionists who would urge the people to stand by the Seceded States, and dark shadows pressed upon my mind of coming events, for I could see nothing but persecution for those who were determined to hold out for the Union.

CHAPTER XXV.

VIEWING THE POLITICAL SITUATION FROM KANSAS.

On leaving home for Kansas, I had in mind to stop in the neighborhood of Lawrence, and my most direct road would lead me through Fort Scott, Mount City and Ossawatomie. It was a lonesome ride nearly all the way through prairies to the Overland Mail Station kept by Mr. A. D Reed on the Santa Fe Road between Lanesfield and Gardner, eighteen miles south of Lawrence, where I stopped to help Mr Reed keep his account with the Stage company and assist him in his crops.

Before leaving home I made no secret of my intention of going to Kansas, so that after I left it was talked about Neosho that I had gone there to bring the Jayhawkers into Newton county, as soon as hostilities commenced, and that my father would be held responsible for any acts committed by the men from Kansas.

The word "Jayhawker" as I understood, came from Jayhawk, a kind of night hawk that looked much like a blue jay, but that made its raids or depredations of nights on birds and chicken roosts instead of in the day time like the common hawk of that section. The Free State men made their retaliatory raids into Missouri of nights.

The timely rains of spring and summer gave Kansas that year most bountiful crops. My interest in the crop of corn of three hundred bushels, I sold that winter at ten cents a bushel. But the terrible drought of 1860 left an indellible impression upon the minds of those who passed

through it, an impression that the new State would never measure up to the possibilities which had been claimed for it.

With the opening of spring the people who had left their homes in Kansas for points in Missouri for food commenced to return in time to make a crop. There were, however, many families who had moved back to Illinois and Iowa, who had become so discouraged that they never returned to Kansas.

In a few weeks after my arrival at Mr. Reed's the Overland Mail over the Sante Fe Trail stopped coming out from Kansas City some thirty miles distant, on account of the belligerent attitude of the secessionists at that place and Independence.

The secessionists had already taken the Liberty Arsenal in Clay county, Missouri, and had also seized a large amount of army supplies at Kansas City. In Jackson and adjoining counties in Western Missouri, military companies of secessionists were drilling under officers of Southern birth and sympathies who had recently resigned from the regular Army and accepted commissions from Governor Jackson.

These war-like movements of the secessionists near the Kansas border, aroused in the people of the new State a sense of insecurity, and they too commenced to raise military companies for service under the recent call of President Lincoln for 75,000 volunteers. About this time at the suggestion of prominent Union men of Missouri, the Department Commander ordered a battallion of regular infantry, a battery of artillery and a squadron of regular cavalry under Lieut. D. S. Stanley from Fort Leavenworth down to Kansas City to watch the movements of the secessionists.

Shortly after his arrival at Kansas City, Lieut. Stanley with a squadron of regular cavalry marched leisurely down the road towards Independence until he came within half a mile of the secession camp on Rock Creek under Colonel Holloway, when he halted and sent forward one of his men with a white flag and a message to Colonel Holloway, requesting a conference between their lines. These officers

had known each other in the Regular Army, and the conference was immediately granted, and Lieut. Stanley with two men rode forward under a flag of truce until they met Colonel Holloway and several of his officers.

They had been talking only a short time when Lieut. Stanley noticed the secessionists moving up on his right and left with the evident intention of cutting him off from his command, and called the Colonel's attention to the threatened movement; but the Colonel assured him that there was no danger, and that his men would advance no further. In a few moments Lieut. Stanley saw that the secessionists had not ceased and again called the Colonel's attention to the fact and turned and galloped back to his detachment. At this moment seeing that his men were advancing, Colonel Holloway waived them back with his hand, which was taken as a signal to fire. At any rate part of his men fired a volley, killing him and two other officers, and wounding several officers who had accompanied him to meet Lieut. Stanley.

Colonel Holloway had twelve to fifteen companies in his camp near Independence, and it was reported he intended by a surprise attack to capture the Federal force of about three hundred men under Major Prince who were encamped on the bluff in the northwest part of Kansas City. After the death of Colonel Holloway by the reckless blunder of his own men, Colonel Richard Weightman, the next officer in rank, took command and withdrew at once to the east side of the Little Blue River, about fifteen miles east of Independence, and threw up some fortifications.

This Rock Creek affair caused intense excitement among the Southern men in Western Missouri, and so demoralized them as to temporarily check their further hostile movements. It was rather singular that these leaders pretended in the most public manner in nearly all their partisan newspapers that Colonel Holloway and his companions were killed by the firing of the detachment of Regular cavalry, instead of by his own impetuous men. But the tragedy had a sobering effect upon the scessionists, and they made no further movement towards capturing Kansas City.

A short time after the Rock Creek affair, I drove a team to Kansas City for a load of goods for a merchant in Gardner, and while there saw for the first time preparations for war by the Unionists; I saw Colonel R. T. Van Horn's Battallion drilling in their camp in town. Through the vigilance and efforts of Colonel Van Horn the secessionists never got control of Kansas City, a town comparable in importance to Leavenworth and St. Joseph, as a shipping point. He had been elected Mayor of the city, and had published the *Journal*, a Republican newspaper for several years before the war, and his influence extended over Western Missouri and Kansas, and he was considered a safe level-headed man. It would be impossible to estimate how many men his writings as editor of the *Journal* influenced to espouse the Union cause.

After my return from Kansas City to Gardner, I was convinced that Missouri was rapidly becoming a field for the operations of hostile forces. In the daily newspapers there were accounts of mass meetings of Unionists and secessionists in different parts of the State, of the organization of military companies, and comments in regard to Governor Jackson's refusal to furnish Missouri's quota of 75,000 men called for in President Lincoln's Proclamation.

We read in the dispatches where the secessionists had received several important checks, particularly of the capture of a brigade of State Guards under General Frost by General Lyon at Camp Jackson near St. Louis, with a large number of cannon, arms, ammunition and equipments, which had recently been taken from United States Arsenals in Louisiana and Arkansas by the secessionists of those States.

The latter part of May and June we heard mostly of the preparations for active operations on both sides. In all the different movements we could see that the Southern military leaders were maneuvering for tactical positions as near the northern borders of the Slave States as practicable, and the commander-in-chief of the Federal Forces desired tactical positions as near the southern borders of Missouri, Kentucky and what is now West Virginia, as practicable.

This period of preparation and movement of troops caused less excitement than if frequent conflicts were occurring, and allowed the people of Kansas time to attend closely to their crops. At Gardner and Lanesfield and in all the towns in our section of Kansas, there were public meetings to discuss the situation. Up to this time there were few of the pro-slavery settlers in Kansas, but they were so much in the minority that they gave no trouble to their free state neighbors. At Fort Scott, however, there were a few men who sympathized with the South.

Most of the strong Southern sympathizers, soon after the opening of hostilities, moved out of Kansas into Missouri and Arkansas, for they knew that they were in a hopeless minority, and that their movements and conduct would be closely watched by their loyal neighbors.

In response to President Lincoln's call for volunteers, two regiments were raised in Kansas to fill her quota, and they were immediately prepared for active service. There was nothing like the excitement in Kansas as in Missouri, for in Kansas the people were nearly all one way, for the Union, whereas in Missouri they were nearly equally divided on the issues involved.

After General Harney was relieved and General Lyon placed in command of the Department, there was no further temporizing with the Southern leaders. At their conference with him in St. Louis after his capture of Camp Jackson, he told them plainly that he would not as the representative of the Government, yield in any manner to their demands for a passive policy; that he would hold the authority of the Government paramount in every instance.

Governor Jackson had commissioned regimental and division commanders in every Congressional district in the State, with instructions to prepare their men for active service as rapidly as practicable; but General Lyon's prompt and uncompromising action impressed the Governor that he must at once recognize the authority of the General Government as paramount, or fight. Having watched the movements of the secessionists in the State from the time he was

placed in command of the St. Louis Arsenal, General Lyon secured authority from the war Department to raise ten regiments of Missouri Volunteers for three months.

Governor Jackson had already shown his hand when he refused to allow Missouri to furnish her quota of troops under President Lincoln's call for volunteers. Immediately after his conference with the State leaders at St. Louis was ended, General Lyon ordered two regiments of volunteer infantry, a battallion of Regular infantry, and a battery of Regular Light Artillery to embark on two steamboats, and started up the Missouri River with them to Jefferson City. Having burned the railroad bridge over the Osage to prevent pursuit by rail, Governor Jackson and his advisers and military companions left Jefferson City for Boonville before the arrival of General Lyon, who took possession of the city without opposition.

After briefly looking over the situation General Lyon left a sufficient force under Colonel Henry Boernstein, Second Missouri infantry, to maintain order in the city, and then steamed on up the river to Boonville, where he was informed that Governor Jackson had concentrated several thousand men to make a stand.

The General landed most of his troops about seven miles below Boonville on the south bank of the river and marched up cautiously toward the city. In a short time his advance came in contact with the pickets of the secessionists, who fell back rapidly on the main body after exchanging a few shots with their pursuers. Continuing to advance General Lyon soon came in sight of the main force of Governor Jackson. General Lyon examined the position of the Governor's forces, formed his line for making the attack, and bringing his battery into position, his guns commenced throwing shot and shell into such bodies of Jackson's forces as were exposed to view. General Lyon soon put the State Guards to flight, causing them to leave part of their artillery and quite a number of prisoners in the hands of the victors. After his defeat at Boonville, Governor Jackson moved south with his forces.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MILITARY OPERATIONS SHIFT TO SOUTHWEST MISSOURI

Before leaving St. Louis General Lyon had sent a force of about two thousand men, Missouri Volunteers, under General Sweeney to Rolla, the terminus of the Southwest Branch of the Pacific Railroad, and thence by marches to Springfield, to strengthen the hands of the Union men in Southwest Missouri, and watch the movements of the secessionists in that quarter. Colonel John S. Phelps, Congressman from the Springfield District, Col. S. H. Boyd, and many other prominent men of that section had identified themselves with the Union cause, and had a powerful following in all the counties of Southern and Southwest Missouri, known as the Ozark Mountain region.

After the decisive action at Boonville General Lyon was not able to commence immediate pursuit of Governor Jackson's forces for want of transportation. He worked incessantly to provide transportation for supplies for his command, and to get it ready to move south to form a junction with General Sweeney. He ordered the commanding officers of troops at Kansas City and other points in his department to join him on the march to Springfield where he proposed to concentrate his forces for the approaching conflict.

The Rock Creek affair, the capture of Camp Jackson and the action at Boonville and defeat of Governor Jackson's forces there, had given General Lyon and the Union cause an unlooked for prestige, and put new life and courage into the Union men throughout the state to assert themselves and effect organizations for their own defense.

Directly after his flight from Jefferson City, Governor Jackson issued a proclamation calling out fifty thousand men for the defense of the State, which was generally regarded as equivalent to a declaration of war against the Federal Government.

In a short time after General Harney was relieved and the Department of the West was turned over to General

Lyon, the Government at Washington authorized him to organize the Union men into companies and regiments of Home Guards all over the State to cooperate with the Regular and Volunteer forces in all military operations contemplated. Up to that time Union men could not lawfully organize for their protection in the State, a fact which put them to great disadvantage even in counties and localities where they were in the majority.

They did, however, organize in some localities in the hope of getting authority from the President to enter the service in the defense of the Union. As soon as authority was obtained all these independent organizations were mustered in as Home Guards and Militia, and while their operations were usually confined to the counties in which they were raised, they held themselves in readiness to cooperate with the regular forces where needed. The Home Guard organizations came into existence for emergency service, and instead of the regiments being numbered, they were officially known for example as "The Green County Regiment Missouri Home Guards." They were not uniformed and equipped by the State or General Government like volunteer organizations, but they furnished their own horses, arms, blankets and camp outfits, and when they were operating with the regular forces, they were furnished rations and clothing like the other troops.

They were useful in the counties where they were able to organize in maintaining order and keeping the secessionists quiet, and in furnishing information to Federal commanders of hostile movements of the enemy in their sections. They were also useful in holding posts and in escorting trains of supplies for troops in the field, thus making it unnecessary to take detachments from the active mobile army for this purpose.

They were mostly called out for three to six months, and at the end of that time, most of those fit for the military service enlisted in the new volunteer organizations being raised all over the State, the Government having called for additional troops. As they were armed only with squirrel

rifles and shot guns and not uniformed, General Lyon did not intend to use the Home Guards closely associated with his regular forces, when ready to give battle to the enemy, but assigned them to the work of gathering supplies for his army, watching the movements of the enemy on his flanks, and guarding his line of communication from his field base to his permanent base.

While military operations in Missouri appeared to be drifting away from the Kansas Border, and when no one had any definite idea where the opposing forces in Missouri would meet the conflict, the country was suddenly electrified with Colonel Sigel's report of the battle of Carthage in Southwest Missouri.

Soon after his arrival at Springfield, General Sweeney commenced organizing the Home Guards, and sent Colonel Siegel with the Third and Fifth regiments Missouri Volunteers and two batteries of light artillery to Granby and Neosho in Newton county, to break up secession organizations reported to be in the vicinity of those places.

My father with several members of his family in his family carriage met Colonel Sigel at Granby; gave him such information as he posessed of the situation in that section, and accompanied the command to Neosho, driving at the head of the column as it marched through town, a triumph of short duration; but one that he enjoyed with unbounded satisfaction, for he was becoming discouraged at the prospect of Union forces occupying that part of the State. On his arrival at Neosho Colonel Sigel received information that the forces of the secessionists that had been encamped near town on hearing of his approach had fled to camp Walker in the northwest corner of Arkansas, where General Ben McCulloch was encamped with a force of several thousand Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas troops, ready to march into Missouri to cooperate with Governor Jackson's State forces. While at Neosho Colonel Sigel also received information that Governor Jackson had crossed the Osage river and was marching south for the purpose of joining with the forces of General Sterling Price and McCulloch, then probably on the march

from the south to meet him. Finding himself between two superior forces, marching rapidly to form a junction, Colonel Sigel decided to leave 100 men under Captain Conrad at Neosho, and then to march with the utmost despatch north to Carthage, or until he met Governor Jackson's forces, and then attack them vigorously. He arrived at Carthage on the evening of July 4th.

At Carthage he ascertained that the advance of the Governor's forces would probably pass Lamar, twenty-five miles north, that day on the march south. Early on the morning of the 5th, Colonel Sigel left his camp near Carthage and advanced cautiously on the Lamar road until he came in sight of the Governor's forces drawn up in line of battle on an elevated position in the prairie nine miles north. When within artillery range the Colonel formed his line, brought up his artillery and opened fire on the secessionists with part of his guns, and immediately drew the fire of the enemy guns. The larger part of the Governor's forces were mounted, whereas Colonel Sigel's force was all infantry and artillery, thus leaving his flanks exposed to the swiftly moving horsemen of the enemy.

Governor Jackson had upwards of four thousand men of all arms of the service in his three or four divisions, while Colonel Sigel had less than one thousand effectives, nearly all Germans and fairly well drilled. After some maneuvering and firing at long range, the State guard leaders, Generals Parsons, Rains, and Slack, sent out large detachments of their mounted men for the purpose of flanking Sigel and cutting off his retreat to Carthage. When these movements were observed, Colonel Sigel ordered a retreat, at the same time using the guns of his batteries in throwing shot and shell into the flanking forces when they came within range and showed a disposition to close in on him. He kept up his retreating fight from Dry Fork to Carthage, and from thence three or four miles southeast on the road to Sarcoxie and Mt. Vernon, at times being nearly surrounded, so that he was obliged on several occasions to use grape shot and shell from his sight guns.

It was a very warm day, and after much marching and maneuvering, the State Guards about sunset, withdrew from the pursuit, and Colonel Sigel continued his march to Sarcoxie, Mt. Vernon and Springfield. The secessionists camped around Carthage that night, and the next day resumed the march to Neosho where they met a large force of General McCulloch's command under Colonels Churchill and McIntosh, which had on the 4th captured Captain Conrad's detachment which had been left there by Colonel Sigel.

The official reports of casualties showed 44 men killed and wounded on the Federal side, and 74 killed and wounded scessionists, showing that very little of the fighting during the day was in rifle range. Colonel Sigel had seen military service in Europe during the Revolutions of 1848, and with other prominent Germans, was obliged to flee to this country for his operations that would redound to his own glory and heroism, and even if he had not exaggerated his exploits in his retreating fight, a correct report of the picturesqueness of it would have excited interest throughout the country. His vivid description of his masterly retreat gave the impression throughout the North that he had fought a great battle.

The booming of cannon at short intervals during that still warm day, was heard by the astonished people for twenty to thirty miles around, and across the State line in Kansas, creating the impression that a terrific conflict was going on. The partisians of each side claimed to have killed nearly all of their opponents, and the people who saw and talked with soldiers who were in the fight, exaggerated the accounts of the slaughter, and how the ground was ploughed up by shot and shell, and how Spring River near Carthage was gorged with the dead, and how its turbulent waters were reddened by the blood of the wounded and dying.

If that section was not already ploughed with cannon balls it certainly would be shortly, and all the Unionists killed or captured, for the dispatches stated that a mighty host of Southern forces concentrating there from Texas,

Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri, and preparing for another great battle.

I felt certain that father on account of his well known anti-slavery sentiments, could not escape their wrath, particularly since he had ridden at the head of the column when Colonel Sigel's command marched into Granby and Neosho. In addition to this, he had guided Colonel Sigel from Neosho to Carthage, which had angered the secessionists and made them talk of revenge when an opportunity offered.

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO

AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR.

BY JOHN N. EDWARDS.

EIGHTH ARTICLE. (Reprint).

CHAPTER XVI.

Quite a large concentration of Americans had taken place in the City of Mexico. Many of these were penniless—all of them were soldiers. As long as they believed in luck, or the fortune, or the good destiny of Shelby—and that, being a born soldier, the Empire must needs see and recognize those qualities which even his enemies had described as magnificent—they were content to wait for Shelby's arrival, living no man knew how, hungry always, sometimes sad, frequently in want of a roll or a bed—but turning ever their faces fair to the sunrise, saying, it may be a little reproachfully, to the sun: "What hast thou in store for us this day, oh! King?"

Maximilian was like a man who had a desperate race before him, and who had started out to win it. The pace in the beginning was therefore terrible. So firm was the stride so tense were the muscles, so far in the rear were all competitors, that opposition had well-nigh abandoned the contest and resistance had become so enfeebled as to be almost an absolute mockery.

In the noonday of the struggle a halt was had. There were so many sweet and odorous flowers, so many nights that were almost divine, so much of shade, and luxury and ease, so much of music by the wayside, and so many hands that were held out to him for the grasping, that the young Austrian—schooled in the luxuries of literature and the pursuits of science—sat himself down just when the need was sorest, and smoked, and dreamed, and planned, and wrote, and—died.

Maximilian was never a soldier. Perhaps he was no statesman as well. Most certainly all the elements of a politician were wanting in his character, which was singularly sweet, trusting and affectionate. To sign a death warrant gave him nights of solitude and remorse. Alone with his confessor he would beseech in prayer the merciful God to show to him that mercy he had denied to others. On one eve of an execution he had been known to flee from his capital as if pursued by some horrible nightmare. He could not kill, when, to reign as a foreigner, it was necessary to kill, as said William the Conqueror, until the balance is about even between those who came over with you and those whom you found upon your arrival.

The Emperor had given shelter to some honored and august Americans. Commodore M. F. Maury, who had proceded the Expedition, and who had brought his great fame and his transcendent abilities to the support of the Empire, had been made the Imperial Commissioner of Immigration. Entering at once upon an energetic discharge of his duties, he had secured a large and valuable grant of land near the city of Cordova, which, even as early as September, 1865, was being rapidly surveyed and opened up for cultivation. Agents of colonization had been sent to the United States, and reports were constantly being received of their cordial and sometimes enthusiastic reception by the people from New Orleans to Dubuque, Iowa, and from New York westward to San Antonio, Texas. There was a world of people ready to emigrate. One in five of all the thousands would have been a swart, strapping fellow, fit for any service but best for the service of a soldier.

Therefore, when these things were told to Shelby, riding down from the highlands about Queretaro to the lowlands about Mexico, he rubbed his hands as one who feels a steady flame by the bivouac-fire of a winter's night, and spoke out gleefully to Langhorne:

"We can get forty thousand and take our pick. Young men for war, and only young men emigrate. This Commodore Maury seems to sail as well upon the land as upon the

water. It appears to me that we shall soon see the sky again. What do *you* say, Captain?"

Langhorne answered him laconically:

"The French are not friendly—that is to say, they want no soldiers from among us. You will not be permitted to recruit even so much as a front and a rear rank; and if this is what you mean by seeing the clear sky, then the sky is as far away as ever."

It was not long before the sequel proved which of the two was right.

Gen. John B. Magruder, who had also preceded the Expedition, and who had known Marshal Bazaine well in the Crimea, was commissioned Surveyor General of the Empire through French influence, and assigned to duty with Commodore Maury. He had spoken twice to the Marshal in behalf of Shelby, and spoken frankly and boldly at that. He got in reply what Jeanningros had got, and Depreuil, and Douay, and all of them. He got this sententious order:

"Bid Shelby march immediately to Mexico."

Gen. Preston, who through much peril and imminent risk by night and day, had penetrated to the Capital, even from Piedras Negras, had begged and pleaded for permission to return with such authority vouchsafed to Shelby as would enable him to recruit his corps. Preston fared like the rest. For answer he also got the order:

"Bid Shelby march immediately to Mexico"

And so he marched on into the glorious land between Queretaro and the Capital, and into the glorious weather, no guerrillas now to keep watch against—no robbers anywhere about the hills or the fords. The French were everywhere in the sunshine. Their picquets were upon all the roads. The villages contained their cantonments. There was peace and prosperity and a great rest among all the people. The women laughed in the glad land, and the voices of many children told of peaceful days and of the fatness of the field and the vine—of the streams that ran to the sea, and uplands green with leaf or gray with ripening grain.

Maybe Fate rests its head upon its two hands at times, and thinks of what little things it shall employ to make or mar a character—save or lose a life—banish beyond the light or enter into and possess forevermore a Paradise.

The march was running by meadow and river, and the swelling of billowy wheat, and the great groves of orange trees wherein the sunshine hid itself at noon with the breeze and the mocking birds.

It was far into the evening that John Thrailkill set by the fire of his mess, smoking and telling brave stories of the brave days that were dead. Others were grouped about in dreaming indolence or silent fancy—thinking, it may be, of the nothern land with its pines and firs—of great rolling waves of prairie and plain, of forests where cabins were and white-haired children all at play.

Thrailkill was a guerrilla who never slept—that is to say, who never knew the length or breadth of a bed from Sumpter to Appomattox. Some woman in Platt county had made him a little black flag, under which he fought. This, worked in the crown of his hat, satisfied him with his loyalty to his lady-love. In addition to all this, he was one among the best pistol shots in a command where all were excellent.

Perhaps neither before or since the circumstance here related, has anything so quaint in recklessness or bravado been recorded this side the Crusades. Thrailkill talked much, but then he had fought much, and fighting men love to talk now and then. Some border story of broil or battle, wherein, at desperate odds, he had done a desperate deed, came uppermost as the night deepened, and the quaint and scarred guerrilla was over-generous in the share he took of the killing and the plunder.

A comrade by his side—Anthony West—doubted the story and ridiculed its narration. Thrailkill was not swift to anger for one so thoroughly reckless, but on this night he arose, every hair in his bushy beard bristling.

"You disbelieve me, it seems," he said, bending over the other until he could look into his eyes, "and for the skeptic

there is only the logic of a blow. Is this real, and is this?" and Thrailkill smote West twice in the face with his open hand —once on either cheek. No insult could be more studied, open and unpardonable.

Comrades interfered instantly, or there would have been bloodshed in the heart of the camp and by the flames of the bivouac fire. Each was very cool—each knew what the morrow would bring forth, without a miracle.

The camp was within easy reach of a town that was more of a village than a town. It had a church and a priest, and a regular Don of an Alcalde who owned leagues of arable land and two hundred game cocks besides. For Shelby's especial amusement a huge main was organized, and a generel invitation given to all who desired to attend.

The contest was to begin at noon. Before the sun had risen, Capt. James H. Gillette came to Thrailkill who was wrapped up in his blankets, and said to him:

"I have a message for you."

"It is not long, I hope."

"Not very long, but very plain."

"Yes, yes, they are all alike. I have seen such before. Wait for me a few minutes."

Thrailkill found Isaac Berry, and Berry in turn soon found Gillette.

The note was a challenge, brief and perpemptory. Some conferences followed, and the terms were agreed upon. These were savage enough for an Indian. Colt's pistols, dragoon size, were the weapons, but only one of them was to be loaded. The other, empty in every chamber, was to be placed alongside the loaded one. Then a blanket was to cover both, leaving the butt of each exposed. He who won the toss was to make the first selection and Thrailkill won. The loaded and the unloaded pistol lay hidden beneath a blanket, the two handles so nearly alike that there was no appreciable difference. Thrailkill walked up to the tent, whistling a tune. West stood behind him, watching with a face that was set as a flint. The first drew, cast his eyes along the cylinder, saw that it was loaded, and smiled. The last drew—every

chamber was empty. Death was his portion absolutely as if death already stood by his side. Yet he made no sign other than to look up to the sky. Was it to be his last look?

The terms were ferocious, yet neither second had protested against them. It seemed as if one man was to murder another because one had been lucky in the toss of a silver dollar. As the case stood, Thrailkill had the right to fire *six shots* at West before West had the right to grasp even so much as a loaded pistol—and Thrailkill was known for his deadly skill throughout the ranks of the whole Expedition.

The two were to meet just at sunset, and the great cock main was at noon. To this each principle went, and each second, and before the main was over the life of a man stood as absolutely upon the prowess of a bird as the Spring and its leaves upon the rain and the sunshine.

And thus it came about:

In Mexico cock-fighting is a national recreation—perhaps it is a national blessing as well. Men engage in it when they would be robbing else, and waylaying couriers bearing specie, and haunting the mountain gorges until the heavy trains of merchandise entered slowly in to be swallowed up.

The priests fight there, and the fatter the *padre* the finer his chicken. From the prayer-book to the pit is an easy transition, and no matter the aves so only the odds are in favor of the church. It is upon the Sundays that all the pitched battles begin. After the matin bells the matches. When it is vespers, for some there has been a stricken and for some a victorious field. No matter again—for all there is absolution.

The Alcalde of the town of Linares was a jolly, good-conditioned Mexican who knew a bit of English, picked up in California, and who liked the Americans but for two things —their hard drinking and their hard swearing. Finding any ignorant of these accomplishments, there flowed never any more for them a stream of friendship from the Alcalde's fountain. It became as dry as suddenly as a spring in the desert.

Shelby won his heart by sending him a case of elegant

cognac—a present from Douay—and therefore was the main improvised which was to begin at noon.

The pit was a great circle in the midst of a series of seats that arose the one above the other. Over the entrance—which was a gateway opening like the lids of a book—was a chair of state—an official seat occupied by the Alcalde. Beside him sat a bugler in uniform. At the beginning and the end of a battle this bugler, watching the gestures of the Alcalde, blew triumphant or penitential strains accordingly as the Alcalde's favorite lost or won. As the main progressed the notes of gladness outnumbered those of sorrow.

A born cavalryman is always suspicious. He looks askance at the woods, the fences, the ponds, the morning fogs, the road that forks and crosses, and the road that runs into the rear of a haltered column, or into either flank at rest in bivouac. It tries one's nerves so to fumble at uncertain girths in the darkness, a rain of bullets pouring down at the outposts and no shelter anywhere for a long week's marching.

And never at any time did Shelby put aught of faith in Mexican friendship, or aught of trust in Mexican welcome and politeness. His guard was perpetual, and his intercourse, like his marching, was always in skirmishing order. Hence one-half the forces of the Expedition were required to remain in camp under arms, prepared for any emergency, while the other half, free of restraint, could accept the Alcalde's invitation or not as they saw fit. The most of them attended. With the crowd went Thrailkill and West, Gillette and Berry. All the village was there. The pit had no caste. Benevolent priests mingled with their congregations and bet their *pesos* on their favorites. Lords of many herds and acres, and mighty men of the country round about, the Dons of the haciendas pulled off their hats to the peons and staked their gold against the greasy silver palm to palm. Fair *senoritas* shot furtive glances along the ranks of the soldiers—glances that lingered long upon the Saxon outline of their faces and retreated only when to the light of curiosity there had been added that of unmistakable admiration.

The bugle sounded and the weighing began. The sport

was new to many of the spectators—to a few it was a sealed book. Twenty-five cocks were matched—all magnificent birds, not so large as those fought in America but as pure in game and as rich in plumage. There, too, the fighting is more deadly, that is to say, it is more rapid and fatal. The heels used have been almost thrown aside here. In the north and west absolutely—in New Orleans very nearly so. These heels, wrought of the most perfect steel and carved like a scimetar, have an edge almost exquisite in its keenness. They cut asunder like a sword-blade. Failing in instant death, they inflict mortal wounds. Before there is mutilation there is murder.

To the savage reality of combat there was added the atoning insincerities of music. These divested the drama of its premeditation, and gave to it an air of surprise that, in the light of an accommodating conscience, passed unchallenged for innocence. In Mexico the natives rarely ask questions—the strangers never.

Shelby seated himself by the side of the Alcalde, the first five or six notes of a charge were sounded and the battle began. Thereafter with varying fortunes it ebbed and flowed through all the long afternoon. Aroused into instant championship, the Americans espoused the side of this or that bird, and lost or won as the fates decreed. There was but scant gold among them, all counted, but twenty dollars or twenty thousand, it would have been the same. A nation of born gamblers, it needed not a cock fight to bring all the old national traits uppermost. A dozen or more were on the eve of wearing their carbines and revolvers, when a sign from Shelby checked the unsoldierly impulse and brought them back instantly to a realization of duty.

Thrailkill had lost heavily—that is to say every dollar he owned on earth. West had won without cessation—won in spite of his judgment, which was often adverse to the wagers he laid. In this, maybe, fate was but flattering him. Of what use would all his winnings be after the sunset?

It was the eighth battle, and a magnificent cock was brought forth who had the crest of an eagle and the eye of a

basilisk. More sonorous than the bugle, his voice had blended war and melody in it. The glossy ebony of his plumage needed only the sunlight to make it a mirror where courage might have arrayed itself. In an instant he was everybody's favorite—in his favor all the odds were laid. Some few clustered about his antagonist—among them a sturdy old priest who did what he could to stem the tide rising in favor of the bird of the beautiful plumage.

Infatuated like the rest, Thrailkill would have staked a crown upon the combat; he did not have even so much as one *real.* The man was miserable. Once he walked to the door and looked out. If at that time he had gone forth, the life of West would have gone with him, but he did not go. As he returned he met Gillette, who spoke to him:

"You do not bet, and the battle is about to begin."

"I do not bet because I have not won. The pitcher that goes eternally to a well is certain to be broken at last."

"And yet you are fortunate."

Thrailkill shrugged his shoulders and looked at his watch. It wanted an hour yet of the sunset. The tempter still tempted him.

"You have no money, then. Would you like to borrow?"

"No."

Gillette mused awhile. They were tying on the last blades and the old priest had cried out:

"A doubloon to a doubloon against the black cock!"

Thrailkill's eyes glistened. Gillette took him by the arm. He spoke rapidly, but so low and distinct that every word was a thrust:

"You do not want to kill West—the terms are murderous —you have been soldiers together—you can take the priest's bet—here is the money. But," and he looked him fair in the face, "if you win you pay me—if you lose I have absolute disposal of your fire."

"Ah!" and the guerrilla straightened up all of a sudden, "what would you do with my fire?"

"Keep your hands clean—clean from innocent blood, John Thrailkill. Is that not enough?"

The money was accepted, the wager with the priest was laid, and the battle began. When it was over the beautiful black cock lay dead on the sands of the arena, slain by the sweep of one terrific blow, while over him, in pitiless defiance, his antagonist, dun in plumage and ragged in crest and feather, stood a victor, conscious of his triumph and his prowess.

The sun was setting, and two men stood face to face in the glow of crimsoning sky. On either flank of them a second took his place, a look of sorrow on the bold bronze face of Berry, the light of anticipation in the watchful eyes of the calm Gillette. Well kept, indeed, had been the secret of the tragedy. The group who stood alone on the golden edge of the evening were all who knew the ways and the means of the work before them. West took his place as a man who had shaken hands with life and knew how to die, Thrailkill had never been merciful, and this day of all days were the chances dead against a moment of pity or forgiveness.

The ground was a little patch of grass beside a stream, having trees in the rear of it, and trees over beyond the reach of the waters running musically to the sea. In the distance there were houses from which peaceful smoke ascended. Through the haze of the gathering twilight the sound of bells came from the homeward-plodding herds, and from the fields the happy voices of the reapers.

West stood full front to his adversary—certain of death. He expected nothing beyond a quick and a speedy bullet—one which would kill without inflicting needless pain.

The word was given. Thrailkill threw his pistol out, covered his antagonist once fairly, looked once into his eyes and saw that they did not quail, and then, with a motion as instantaneous as it was unexpected, lifted it up overhead and fired in the air.

Gillette had won his wager.

CHAPTER XVII.

The city of all men's hopes and fears and aspirations—the city of the swart cavaliers of Cortez and the naked warriors of Montezuma, who rushed with bare bosom on lance

and sword-blade—the city under the shadow of the old-world Huasco—that volcano, it may be, that was in its youth when Ararat bore aloft the Ark as a propitiation to the God alike of the rainbow and the deluge—and that when the floods subsided sent its lava waves to the Pacific Ocean—the city which had seen the cold glitter of northern steel flash along the broken way of Conteras, and wind itself up, striped thick with blood, into the heart of Chepultepec—the city filled now with Austrians, and Belgians, and Frenchmen, and an Emperor newly crowned with manhood and valor, and an Empress royal with an imperial youth and beauty—the city of Mexico was reached at last.

For many the long march was about to end—for others to begin again—longer, drearier, sterner than any march ever yet taken for king or country—the march down into the Valley of the Shadow, and over beyond the River and into the unknown and eternal.

Marshal Bazaine was a soldier who had seen service in Algeria, in the Crimea, in Italy—especially at Magenta—and he had won the *baton* at last in Mexico, that *baton* which First Napoleon declared might be in the knapsack of every soldier. The character of the man was a study some student of history may love to stumble upon in the future. Past fifty, white-haired where there was hair, bald over the forehead as one sees all Frenchmen who have served in Algeria, he made a fine figure on horseback, because from the waist up his body was long, lithe and perfectly trained; but not such a fine figure on foot, because the proportion was illy preserved between the two extremities. He was ambitious, brave to utter recklessness, crafty yet outspoken and frank, a savage aristrocrat who had married a fair-faced Spaniard and a million, merciless in discipline, beloved of his troops, adored by his military family, a gambler who had been known to win a thousand ounces on a single card, a speculator and the owner of ships, a husband whom even the French called true, a father and a Judge who, after he had caressed his infant, voted death at the court-martial so often that one officer began to say to another:

"He shoots them all."

Bazaine was a skillful soldier. As long as it was war Juarez, he kept Juarez starving and running—sometimes across the Rio Grande into Texas, where the Federals fed him, and sometimes in the mountains about El Paso, never despondent, it is true, yet never well-filled in either commissariat or cartridge-box. After the visit of Gen. Castelneau, an aid-de-camp of Napoleon, and the reception of positive orders of evacuation, the Marshal let the Liberals have pretty much their own way, so that they neither injured nor interrupted the French soldiers coming and going about the country at will. As the French waves receded the waves of the Juaristas advanced. Bazaine sold them cannon, and muskets, and much ammunition, it is said, and even seige guns with which to batter down the very walls of Maximilian's palace itself. Those who have accused him of this have slandered and abused the man. He may have known much of many things—of ingratitude not one heart-throb. Not his the aggravation of evacuation, the sudden rending asunder of the whole frame-work of Imperial society, the great fear that fell upon all, the patriotic uprisings that had infection and jubilee in them, the massacre of Mexicans who had favored the Austrian, the breaking up of all schemes for emigration and colonization, and the ending of a day that was to bring the cold, long night of Queretaro.

Rudolph, Emperor of Germany, who was born in 1218, and who was the son of Albert IV., Count of Hapsburg, was the founder of that family to which Maximilian belonged. In 1282, Rudolph placed his son Albert on the throne of Austria, and thus begins the history of that house which has swayed the destinies of a large portion of Europe for nearly eight hundred years, a house which, through many terrible struggles, has gained and lost and fought on and ruled on, sometimes wisely and sometimes not, yet ever ruling in the name of divine right and of the House of Hapsburg.

Through the force of marriage, purchase and inheritance the State of Austria grew in extent beyond that of any other in the German Empire. In 1359, Rudolph IV. assumed the

title of Archduke Palatine, and in 1363 his reign was made notorious by the valuable acquisition of the Tyrol. This was the commencement of the history of the Archdukes, who were thereafter assigned to the high position of Emperor, the first taken from among them being Alfred II., who was chosen in 1438. The marriage of the bold, unscrupulous and ambitious Maximilian I., at the age of eighteen, to Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in 1477, added to Austria's territorial claim largely, and embraced Flanders, Franche Comte, and all the Low Countries. In 1521, Ferdinand I. married Ann, sister of Louis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, who was killed at the battle of Mohaez, in 1526, his empire being absorbed and incorporated with Austria. Upon the events of the fifteenth century, Charles V. left an immortal impress, and the blood of this great Emperor was in the veins of Maximilian of Mexico.

In 1618, Europe, alarmed at the increasing territorial aggrandizement of Austria, and torn by feuds between Protestants and Catholics, saw the commencement of the thirty years' war. It terminated in the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which accomplished the independence of the German States. In 1713, Austria gained the Italian Provinces by the treaty of Utrecht, and in 1720 the last male of the House of Hapsburg, Charles II., died, the succession falling upon his daughter, Maria Theresa. She was succeeded by her son Joseph II., and in 1792, at the age of 22, Francis II. succeeded his father, Leopold II., and became Emperor of Germany, King of Bohemia, Hungary, etc. His reign was unusually stormy, and in three campaigns against the French he lost much of his territory and was forced into the unfortunate treaty of Presburg. In 1804, he assumed the title of Francis I., Emperor of Austria, and in 1806, yielded up that of Emperor of Germany. Thus, through an unbroken line, male and female, did the House of Hapsburg hold the title of Emperor of Germany from 1437 to 1806. Maria Louisa, the daughter of this Francis, was married to the great Napoleon in 1810, and in 1813 her father was in arms against France, and in the alliance with Russia, Prussia and Eng-

land. In 1815 he had regained much of his lost territory, and had succeeded in cementing more firmly than ever the contending elements of the Austrian Empire.

Francis I. died in 1835, leaving the throne to his son Ferdinand I., who, in consequence of the political revolution of 1848, the fatigue of state affairs, and a wretched condition of health, abdicated in the same year in favor of his brother, Archduke Francis Charles, who, on the same day, transferred his right to the throne to his eldest son, the present Emperor, who was declared of age at eighteen. Hungary refused to recognize the new monarch, and constituted a Republic under Kossuth, April 14th, 1849. Bloody and short-lived, the Republic was conquered and crushed under the feet of the Cossack and the Croat.

And in such guise is this history given of one who, inheriting many of the splendid virtues of his race, was to inherit some of its sorrows and tragedies as well.

Ferdinand Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, was born in the palace of Schonbrun, near Vienna, on the 10th day of July, A. D. 1832. He was the second son of Francis Charles, Archduke of Austria, and of the Archduchess Frederica Sophia. His eldest brother was Francis Joseph I., the present Emperor of the Austrian Empire. Two younger brothers embraced the family—and among the whole there was a tenderness and affection so true and so rare in statecraft that in remarking it to the mother of the princes, Marshal MacMahon is reported to have said:

"Madam, these are young men such as you seldom see, and princes such as you never see."

In height Maximilian was six feet two inches. His eyes were blue and penetrating, a little sad at times and often introspective. Perhaps never in all his life had there ever come to them a look of craft or cruelty. His forehead was broad and high, prominent where ideality should abound, wanting a little in firmness, if phrenology is true, yet compact enough and well enough proportioned to indicate resources in reserve and abilities latent and easily aroused. To a large mouth was given the Hapsburg lip, that thick,

protruding semi-cleft under lip, too heavy for beauty, too immobile for features that, under the iron destiny that ruled the hour, should have suggested Caesar or Naploeon. A great yellow beard fell in a wave to his waist. At times this was parted at the chin, and descended in two separate streams, as it were, silkier, glossier, heavier than any yellow beard of any yellow-haired Hun or Hungarian that had followed him from the Rhine and the Danube.

He said pleasant and courtly things in German, in English, Hungarian, Slavonic, French, Italian and Spanish. In natural kindness of temper, and in elegance and refinement of deportment, he surpassed all who surrounded him and all with whom he came in contact. Noblemen of great learning and cosmopolitan reputation were his teachers. Prince Esteraze taught him the Hungarian language; Count de Schnyder taught him mathematics; Thomas Zerman taught him naval tactics and the Italian language. A splendid horseman, he excelled also in athletic sports. With the broadsword or the rapier, few men could break down his guard or touch him with the steel's point.

At the age of sixteen he visited Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Madeira and Africa. He was a poet who wrote sonnets that were set to music, a botanist, a book-maker, the captain of a frigate, an admiral. He did not love to see men die. All his nature was tenderly human. He loved flowers, and music, and statuary, and the repose of the home circle and the fireside. He had a palace called Miramar which was a paradise. Here the messengers found him when they came bearing in their hands the crown of Mexico—a gentle, lovable prince—adored by the Italians over whom he ruled, the friend of the third Napoleon, a possible heir to the throne of Austria, a chivalrous, elegant, polished gentleman.

How he died the world knows—betrayed, butchered, shot by a dead wall, thinking of Carlotta.

France never thoroughly understood the war between the States. Up to the evacuation of Richmond by Lee, Louis Napoleon believed religiously in the success of the South-

ern Confederacy. An alliance offensive and defensive with President Davis was proposed to him by Minister Slidell, an alliance which guaranteed to him the absolute possession of Mexico and the undisturbed erection of an empire within its borders. For this he was asked to raise the blockade at Charleston and New Orleans, and furnish for offensive operations a corps of seventy-five thousand French soldires. He declined the alliance because he believed it unnecessary. Of what use to hasten a result, he argued, which in the end would be inevitable.

After Appomattox Court House he awoke to something like a realization of the drama in which he was the chief actor. The French nation clamored against the occupation. Its cost was enormous in blood and treasure. America, sullen and vicious, and victor in a gigantic war, looked across the Rio Grande with her hand upon her sword. Diplomacy could do nothing against a million of men in arms. It is probably that in this supreme moment Mr. Seward revenged on France the degradation forced upon him by the Trent affair, and used language so plain to the Imperial minister that all ideas of further foothold or aggrandizement in the new world were abandoned at once and for ever.

When Shelby arrived in Mexico the situation was Peculiar. Ostensibly Emperor Maximillian had scarcely any more real authority than the Grand Chamberlain of his household. Bazaine was the military autocrat. The mints, the mines and the custom houses were in his posession. His soldiers occupied all the ports where exporting and importing were done. Divided first into military departments, and next into civil departments, a French General, or colonel, or officer of the line of some grade, commanded each of the first, and an Imperial Mexican of some kind, generally half Juarista and half robber, commanded each of the last. For their allies the French had a most supreme and soverign contempt—a contempt as natural as it was undisguised. Conflicts, therefore, necessarily occurred. Civil law, even in sections where civil law might have been made beneficial, rarely ever lifted its head above the barricade of bayonets,

and its officers—finding the French supreme in everything, especially in their contempt—surrendered whatever of dignity or official appreciation belonged to them, and without resigning or resisting, were content to plunder their friends or traffic with the enemy.

Perhaps France had a reason or two for dealing thus harshly with the civil administration of affairs. Maximillian was one of the most unsuspecting and confiding of men. He actually believed in Mexican faith and devotion—in such things as Mexican patriotism and love of peace and order. He would listen to their promises and become enthusiastic; to their plans and grow convinced; to their oaths and their pledges, and take no thought for to-morrow, when the oaths were to become false and the pledges violated. France wished to arouse him from his unnatural dream of trusting goodness and gentleness, and put in lieu of the fatal narcotic more of iron and blood.

France had indeed scattered lives freely in Mexico. At first England and Spain had joined with France in an invasion for certain feasible and specified purposes, none of which purposes, however, were to establish an empire, enthrone a foreign prince, support him by a foreign army, seize posession of the whole Mexican country, govern it as a part of the royal possessions, make of it in time, probably, a great menace, but certain—whatever the future might be—to ruffle the feathers pretty roughly upon that winged relation of the great American eagle, the Monroe Doctrine.

Before the occupation, however, Mexico was divided into two parties—that of the liberals, led by Juarez, and that of the Church, its politicial management in the hands of the Archbishop, its military management in the hands of Miramon. Comonfort, an Utopian dreamer and Socialist, yet a Liberal for all that, renounced the Presidency in 1858. Thereupon the capital of the nation was seized by the Church party, Miramon at its head, and much wrong was done to foreigners—so much wrong, indeed, that from it the alliance sprung that was to sow all over the country a terrible crop of armed men.

In 1861, England, France and Spain united to demand from Mexico the payment of all claims owed by her, and to demand still further and stronger some absolute guarantee against future murders and spoilations.

England's demands were based upon the assertion that on the 16th day of November, 1860, Miramon unlawfully took from English residents one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. This money was in the house of the British Legation. The house was attacked, stoned, fired into, some of its domestic killed and wounded, and the Minister himself saved with difficulty. Afterwards, at Tacubaya, an outlying village of the capital, seventy-three Englishmen were brutually murdered—shot at midnight in a ditch, and to appease, it is thought, a moment of savage superstition and cruelty. To this day it is not known even in Mexico why Miramon gave his consent to this horrible butchery. In other portions of the country, and indeed in every portion of it where there were Englishmen, they were insulted with impunity, robbed of their posessions, often imprisoned, sometimes murdered, and frequently driven forth penniless from among their tormentors.

A treaty had been made in Paris, in 1859, between Spain and the Church party, which provided for the payment of the Spanish claims. This treaty was annulled when Juarez came into power, and the refusal was peremptory to pay a single dollar to Spain. The somewhat novel declaration was also made that the Republic of Mexico owed to its own citizens about as much as it could pay, and that when discriminations had to be made they should be made against the foreigner. Spain became furiously indignant, and joined in with England in the alliance.

France had also her grievances. A Swiss banker named Jecker, who had been living in Mexico a few years prior to the expedition of the three great powers, had made a fortune high up among the millions. Miramon looked upon Jecker with awe and admiration, and from friends the two men soon became to be partners. A decree was issued by Miramon on the 29th of October, 1859, providing for the issuance

of three millions pounds sterling in bonds. These bonds were to be taken for taxes and import duties, were to bear six per cent. interest, and were to have the interest paid for five years by the house of Jecker. As this was considerably above the average life of the average Mexican government, Miramon felt safe in taking no thought of the interest after Jecker had paid for the first five years. Certain regulations also provided that the holders of these bonds might transfer them and receive in their stead Jecker's bonds, paying a certain percentage; for the privilege of the transfer Jecker was to issue the bonds and to receive five per cent. on the issue. He did not, however, consummate the arangement as the provisions of the decree required, and at his own suggestion the contract was modified. At last the result narrowed itself down to this: the Church party stood bound for three millions seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, and Jecker found himself in a position where it was impossible to comply with his contract. In May, 1860, his house suspended payment. His creditors got the bonds, the Church party gave place to the Liberal party, and then a general repudiation came. This party refused to acknowledge any debt based upon the Miramon-Jecker transaction, just as it had refused to carry out the stipulations of a soverign treaty made with Spain.

The most of Jecker's creditors were Frenchmen, and France resolved to collect not only this debt, but claims to the amount of twelve millions of dollars besides. Failing to obtain a peaceful settlement, late in the year 1860, the French Minister left the Capital after this significant speech:

"If there shall be war between us it shall be a war of destruction."

And it was.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

A historical society receives many requests for information. Some relate to history proper, as politics, war, and dates, but the majority concern activities of the people not usually set forth in annalistic compilations. In these latter requests are found many suggestions for the modern historian. They are indicative of the people's needs in this broader history field. They call attention to the matters which are frequently as important as a military campaign or a political election, but which have failed to attract general attention. They frequently reveal how far along we are, or how far behind, in those essential things connected with our civilization.

The request may ask for the minutes of some statewide organization, having thousands of members, and perhaps the seeker must be informed that this organization did not publish its proceedings for over forty years after its founding. The first published minutes of proceedings of the Missouri State Teachers Association were for the 41st annual meeting in 1902, although the first convention was held in St. Louis on May 21, 22 and 23, 1856. The inquirer may desire a research worker to run through the file of some old newspaper to obtain data relating to persons or property. When informed that this file was burned over a quarter of a century ago he realizes for the first time the value *to him* of such records.

There is another side to this subject. Frequently the owner of old records refuses to consider placing them in a public depository or to provide a safe depository himself. The records are valuable in a way *to him*. Several years ago I was in a newspaper office. Unlike many editors this man wanted to keep his file but did not take pains to see that it would be preserved. He said the file was valuable to him because it contained an account of his parents' marriage, his own birth and marriage, and his editorial work for fif-

teen years. That file was the only complete record of his town and vicinity. It went back sixty years. It contained records of thousands of births, deaths, marriages, property transactions, personal items, economic data on sales and prices, and all the scores of other features which make the newspaper the mirror of our democracy. And this file was stored in a shed.

Fortunately for our people many Missouri editors have either donated or deposited, their files in the State Historical Society or have had them bound and carefully preserved in a fire-proof vault. Since 1899, the year of incorporation of the Society, all Missouri editors have regularly sent issues of their current papers for preservation. Today the Society has over 12,000 bound volumes of Missouri newspapers. The continuation of this great work will eventually result in bridging many gaps in Missouri's records and will make the obtaining of historical data an easier matter than it has been.

What is true of the press is equally true of the thousands of books and pamphlets many of which are the product of a day. Their historical value is ascertained only on the fundamental basis of their pertaining to the activities of our people. They are read by hundreds on the day of publication but even a single copy is sometimes unobtainable five years later. Still their value to the State cannot be determined until some citizen needs them to obtain data not found elsewhere. Just as newspaper records have settled lawsuits, cleared title to property, validated franchises, proven even deaths, and questions of legitimacy, so have town directories been evidence in case of pensions, college annuals the key to biographies, and hotel registers statistical indicators of transportation.

"I'M FROM MISSOURI."

Dr. Walter B. Stevens, president of the State Historical Society of Missouri, presents some additional data relating to the origin of "I'm from Missouri:"

While visiting the Portland Exposition in 1905, David R. Francis was asked about the origin of "I'm from Missouri. You've got to show me." His reply printed in the *Oregonian* was:

"Every man in Missouri has his own pet origin, but I am inclined to believe that the generally accepted one dates from the Civil War times. It is said that an officer of the Northern army fell upon a body of Confederate troops and demanded its surrender, stating that he had so many thousand men in his command. The Confederate commander was game to the core; and while he knew he was in sore straits and taken at a disadvantage, he told the Northerner that he didn't believe the latter had that number of troops, and appended the now famous expression to the end of his note, refusing to surrender. History doesn't mention the outcome of the negotiations. This explanation I consider the most reliable and authentic."

In Dr. Stevens' *Centennial History of Missouri*, Vol. II, pages 520-521, are found these explanations of the now famous expression:

"I'm from Missouri; you've got to show me." This was coined so far back in the last century that it belongs to Missouri folklore. The origin has been forgotten. The uses have been many. The expression found such extended application beyond the borders of the state that it was accepted in other parts of the country as in some way typical of Missouri character. The late Norman J. Colman, secretary of agriculture in the first Cleveland cabinet, once said that these fewer than half-score of simple Saxon words contain "a correct estimate of Missouri character. It is true that we are not a people who will accept as truth statements of moment which the maker should be able to demonstrate as fact."

On one occasion the expression was used in court with telling effect. Ten or fifteen years ago Judge Joseph J. Williams, in Jefferson county, was hearing a case in which James F. Green appeared for the Missouri Pacific legal department. The referee in the case, Mr. Bean, had made a voluminous report adverse to the railroad's contention. The judge was inclined to take Bean's findings. Mr. Green insisted that Bean was wrong in his conclusions and argued that the judge must go through the great bulk of testimony to satisfy the ends of justice. The time was summer. The judge fingered the top sheets of the referee's transcript and said:

"Well, I suppose, then, it will be necessary for me to go over this mass of testimony in order to decide as to the contentions made, and—"

"Well, Your Honor," interrupted Mr. Green, "of course that would be necessary, but, as you know yourself, you are from Missouri and I am anxious to show you, you see—all sides of the case."

Commenting on the expression, subsequent to his use of it in court, Mr. Green said, "The last analysis of it exhibits erudition that smacks of legal lore. There is behind that saying the element of such great truth that Missourians should be proud of the sentiment or sense of it. I think I have heard that it was first spoken before a Missouri 'squire in one of the Southeast Missouri counties."

Charles P. Johnson, the former lieutenant-governor, leader of many reforms in Missouri, first heard of the use of the expression in connection with the mining craze, which had its run in Missouri along in the nineties. Many Missourians invested not wisely but so generously in holes in the ground from British Columbia to Old Mexico that they had enough handsomely engraved stock certificates to paper a fair-sized bedroom.

"The latent power of that expression," said Governor Johnson, "is that part of it which conveys to your senses the conviction that the person who uses it has had some convincing experience that he is unwilling to enter into ventures of a dubious or unknown character. The saying is exemplification of the truth that in experience there is wisdom."

Judge D. P. Dyer, of marvelous memory in all that pertains to Missouri, first heard of this saying in connection with a fight in a mining camp in the Rocky Mountains. The bully of the camp threatened a Missourian with a thrashing. The Missourian prepared for the encounter. Friends warned the Missourian that he was sure to get the worst of it. "Well," said the Missourian, "maybe he'll lick me, but I'm from Missouri, and you'll have to show me."

ARTHUR J. FORREST.

By George A. Mahan.

Arthur J. Forrest was a member of Company D, 354th Inf., 89 Div. At the time he enlisted he lived with his parents, 112-a S. Maple Avenue, Hannibal, Missouri, and was sent to Camp Funston. His father is a foreman at the International Shoe Company factory and before he enlisted Arthur played baseball in the Three I League with the team at Quincy, Illinois.

In the battle of the Argonne, near Ramonville, France, while in charge of a platoon on the 4th support line, moving

forward on the morning of November 1, 1918, we were stopped by the heavy machine-gun fire from the Germans, directly south of Ramonville, France. Turning the line over to the corporal, Forrest told him, "I want to go up and see what those square heads are doing," meaning the Germans. Forrest worked his way through the 3rd, 2nd and 1st lines, being ordered at every line not to advance, as it would be sure death to go up to the front line. Forrest paid no heed to the orders. After reaching the front line the men were ordered to lie down. After the lines stopped going forward Forrest started to advance towards the enemy fire, crawling for about fifty yards. Getting up he ran into his own barrage with the shells playing all around him. He threw up his hands and fell over as though being hit by the enemy fire, laying still for a few minutes in sight of the Boche. After looking around to get his bearings he started to beat it closer to the enemy. Running forward again, and for the second time he fell to the ground as though being shot, getting himself together and rolling over the ground into a big shell hole. Laying there for a few minutes until he saw his way clear, he started to get closer to the enemy by crawling. When about a hundred yards from the machine-gun nest that was pouring a deadly fire his way, he started crawling out of sight of the enemy until he had reached his goal, then about fifty yards from the enemy.

The Germans made all preparations to stop the advance of the Americans that morning by flooding a part of the woods in front of the machine gun nests. Working towards the right he prepared to clean up. Taking two hand grenades from his pocket, he started running and throwing the grenades into the nest. Just as he got to the edge of the nest he stumbled over the barb wire, which was supporting the machine guns, and fell among the wire. At this point a big German was about to drive his bayonet through him, when Forrest while on his knees landed an uppercut with his rifle which staggered the German. This gave him time to get to his feet. He swung the butt of his gun as though batting a fast one, which landed on the German's head, putting him out for

SERGT. ARTHUR J. FORREST.

Co. D, 354 Inf., 89 Division, 1918, Hannibal, Mo.

The first medal to the left is the Congressional medal of Honor, the next is the Medal Militaire, the highest medal given by the French Government, the third is a Croix de Guerre with two palms, a gold one and bronze one, and the last is a medal for bravery, given by the Government of Montenegro.

keeps. Two more Germans approached him on the run and Forrest used his bayonet on them. The fourth he put away with a swing of the butt of his rifle.

While at Camp Funston, Forrest was an expert with the bayonet, which came in good use at this moment. Then he started cleaning up one by one. Getting every one in sight that stuck to his post, using his gun like a base ball bat. One can swing a gun with better results than shooting, when one's life is at stake at close range. Not being satisfied with this, he started to scout further on and ran into a bunch of Germans. More fortune was ahead of him at this moment, as the American's artillery scored a direct hit on the nest, which drove the enemy under cover into a dug-out, while a platoon advanced and surrounded the Boche.

Eighty-three prisoners and six machine guns were credited to Forrest.

Forrest when asked what made him do it said, "I knew they couldn't do any more than knock me off, and I wanted to have some fun with the Germans. Then it was better to lose one life than hundreds. I wanted to save the lives of my pals," was the way he put it. "After one spends day after day and night after night in trenches, shell holes and sides of hills under shell fire for weeks, unable to take his clothes off, one doesn't seem to care what happens. I was just lucky."

CORRECTION.

I am writing you to call your attention to a mistake made in the July issue of the "Missouri Historical Review" in the Historical Articles in Missouri Newspapers—April—June, 1921, under sub-head of Wright County, reference is made to the Marshfield Mail and its story of the Marshfield Cyclone and Sketch of the life of F. M. Russell.

The error is in locating Marshfield and the Mail in Wright County. They are in Webster County. Mr. Russell was a resident of this (Laclede) county for many years previous to his death, living near Conway, and was a resident of Conway, in Laclede County at the time of his death.

(Signed) MILTON FULLER,
Editor *Lebanon Rustic.*

Lebanon, Missouri, September 9, 1922.

MARK TWAIN HISTORICAL PAGEANT.

At Hannibal, Missouri, on June 12th, 13th and 14th, was presented a "Mark Twain Historical Pageant." This pageant was given under the auspices of the Hannibal Study Club and was presented under the direction of Mrs. Frank S. Leach of Sedalia, who was also the author of the piece. The following account of the production is taken from the Hannibal *Courier-Post* for June 13, 1922:

In the first act surveyors are at work in the year 1818 laying out the city. Here the Indians enter and frighten away the surveyors. Moses D. Bates, son of the founder of Hannibal, is shown trading "firewater" to the Indians for their furs.

The second act shows the queen of Hannibal preparing for a visit of Mark Twain to the city of his boyhood. She discovers that the town is menaced with flies, wastepaper, fire, dirt, soot, microbes, sickness, sorrow, poverty and death. Cleanliness appears, bringing the flyswatter, fire prevention, the paint army, Dutch Cleansers, health crusaders, flower girls and Sunshine to aid in making the city beautiful.

Particulalrly attractive and touching is the third act, showing a "Picture of Memory." All participants in this were over 80 years old and were moving factors in the early history of Hannibal, as well as old friends and playmates of Mark Twain.

Act four presents famous scenes and characters from Mark Twain's "Tom Sawyer," "Huckleberry Finn," "On the Mississippi River," and "Joan of Arc," including dances and the famous cave scene.

Act five shows a review of American heroes and Hannibal industries.

"Liberty Aflame" is shown effectively in the sixth act with the grouping of nations and the chorus of children.

The part of Mark Twain was taken by T. L. Anderson, an attorney of Hamilton; that of Becky Thatcher by Miss Geraldine Downs of Sedalia, and that of Tom Sawyer by William B. Stout of Hannibal.

THE HISTORY OF MISSOURI AND MISSOURIANS.

By Walter B. Stevens.

"Missouri's Struggle for Statehood" is widely recognized historical authority on that period of a half decade which prompted Thomas Jefferson to say "The Missouri Question

is the most portentous which ever threatened our Union." It combined exhaustive research with a literary treatment which gave Floyd C. Shoemaker national standing as an historical writer. Mr Shoemaker's second book, "Missouri's Hall of Fame," is a collection of intimate personal sketches of distinguished Missourians. It sustained well that reputation gained earlier; it has obtained wide use in Missouri schools. Encouraged by the highly favorable reception of these efforts, Mr. Shoemaker has written "A History of Missouri and Missourians."

The title-page announces modestly "A Text Book for Class A, Elementary Grade, Freshman High School and Junior High School." But this is much more than a school book. The marvelously comprehensive review of Missouri history will appeal to readers generally. The treatment is topical. Chronology is made of secondary importance. Thus Mr. Shoemaker in successive chapters presents graphic retrospects of the century of "Missouri's Politics," of "Military Missouri," of "Population," "Missouri's Agriculture," "Missouri's Mining," "Transportation," "City Building," "Journalism," "Literature," "Education." The treatment is novel in the making of histories of American States but Missouri's century since statehood has been widely varied in achievement. Mr. Shoemaker's terse and vigorous style makes the most of this topical treatment. Interest of the student and of the general reader is sustained throughout. There are no dull parts to be skipped.

Before entering upon the twenty and more chapters which give the century retrospects by topics, Mr. Shoemaker brings out strongly the central position Missouri occupies in the Union, not only geographically but also in natural and productive wealth, and finally, what is not so generally realized, in respect to distinctive characters of the population.

In three chapters he traces Missouri's relationship to the early Spanish and French explorations, to the first century of white settlement in the Mississippi Valley and to Spanish rule.

Then come chapters rapidly but definitely reviewing the Louisiana Purchase; Missouri's Struggle for Statehood; The Life of the People from 1804 to 1821; Missourians, The Trail-Makers and Traders of the West. Thus the book blazes the way to the one hundred years' retrospects of all of the elements of the State's activity and progress.

The sentiment of state pride must react to Mr. Shoemaker's fine description of the parts earlier generations of Missourians had in the discovery of the West through exploration and fur trading. A chapter tells how later generations of Missourians won the West through settlements beyond the Missouri river, making the beginnings of many cities. "Mother of States" is the claim Mr. Shoemaker presents for Missouri, and he establishes it by an impressive showing of the numbers and character of Missourians who became citizens of these new states.

Mr. Shoemaker's analysis of Missouri's population is one of many striking features of his book. He traces decade by decade the evolution of the Missourian of 1922, showing how Missouri became a southern state, then a western state and now "a conservative central state" of the Union, with nine out of every ten of the population born in the United States, and seven out of every ten born in Missouri—this by the census of 1920.

In five chapters Mr. Shoemaker reviews the century of Missouri politics. He traces "the rule of the fathers"—the period of personal leadership from 1820 to 1844. Next he takes up the political unrest from 1844 to 1860. The Civil War period and Radical Republican rule from 1861 to 1870 constitute one of Missouri's most thrilling epochs. The following chapter comprises the Liberal Republican movement and the Democratic return to power from 1870 to 1904. The last period develops the growing power of the individual voter in Missouri. In these chapters on Missouri politics is the suggestive material for a score of student theses for the higher degrees.

The economic life in the pioneer period, the evolution of Missouri agriculture, the continuous interest in educational

development, the participation in all of the country's wars are presented in such manner as to hold the interest of the reader and leave lasting impressions to Missouri's credit.

Portraits of all of Missouri's governors and of many other distinguished Missourians, maps, prints of notable events and historic buildings illustrate the text admirably.

Two striking things about this book are the amount of information contained in the 350 pages and the sustained interest to the reader throughout. Dates and statistics are used only where essential to the context. There are no footnotes to break the continuity. Mr. Shoemaker has had in mind to tell the true story of Missouri; to give Missourians the credit of their achievements and to inspire a higher degree of state pride. He has done all of this well.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXT-BOOKS

COMPILED BY J. WILLARD RIDINGS

BAPTIST CHURCH HISTORY.

From Columbia *Evening Missourian*, December 27, 1921.

From the days when Father Marquette came bravely floating down the broad Mississippi into the wild virgin territory of Missouri, chanting a message of love and peace, this State has been noticeably responsive to religion.

It is a long step, it is true, from the bedaubed Indians and uncouth and unlearned explorers and traders who formed the first converts to the religious organization of the State today. But the salient feature is the early responsiveness of those adventurous ones who had come to this new land "over the river," not as a political or religious haven, but as a source of wealth.

Even the earliest white settlements, notwithstanding their aim, had their religious organizations and someone to direct their religious thought. One of the oldest organized churches in the State of Missouri was the Bethel Church, about eight miles north of Rocheport, which is the oldest Baptist church in the State. Though its name was changed and it now is known as the Walnut Grove Church, the roster still shows the names of the charter members who, on July 28, 1817, formally conducted its organization. There were only five: Anderson Woods, Betsy Woods, David McQuitty, John Turner and James Harris.

This little group selected a pastor, William Thorpe, and from this nucleus sprang the Baptist organization of the State. The first outshoot from the parent church was the Petite Bonne Femme Church, about seven miles southeast of Columbia, which recently celebrated its centennial. It was organized in December, 1819, by the members of the Bethel Church, and took its name from the river which ran near the church.

The first place of worship used by the Petite Bonne Femme congregation was a log shack in the forest. After eighty years of prosperity had flooded the community coffers, a building of brick was erected which stood until 1918, when it was remodeled, a Gothic roof constructed and electric lights installed. The church now numbers 80 members, which is the smallest number it has had since it was first established.

Some of the graves in the church yard are more than a hundred years old, and the inscriptions on the tablets, hewn out of sandstone and limestone, are weather-beaten so that they cannot be deciphered.

In 1823 members from the Bonne Femme Church were sent to Columbia to establish a Baptist church here. Charles Hardin and Walter Ridgeway were the first deacons of the church. Elder Allen McGuire became the first pastor in 1827 and Dr. William Jewell the church clerk in 1828.

A forerunner of the University of Missouri was founded at Bonne Femme, for in 1829 the Bonne Femme Academy was incorporated as a college, with Robert S. Thomas as its first president in 1838. It was situated near the church, as the early records state, "In a beautiful and highly moral community." The land on which both the church and college were located was donated by Colonel James McClelland.

The Missouri Baptist General Association was established in the Bonne Femme Church in 1835. Jeremiah Verdeman was the moderator and William Wright was recording secretary. At this time the church and community were noted for their "social culture, their fortune and their generous hospitality." Many men who were prominent in the State were members of the Bonne Femme Church—financiers, educators and men who were leaders in all phases of public life.

Another old church in Boone county is Salem church, which is near Ashland. For forty years David Doyle was pastor of this church, and the records show that "he received no remuneration for his services." Mr. Doyle was the first pastor of the Petite Bonne Femme Church and served there for ten years before coming to Salem Church.

SOME FACTS ABOUT PONY EXPRESS.

From Kansas City *Times*, July 1, 1922.

Pony Express was the name given to mail service between St. Joseph, Missouri, and San Francisco, California, in 1860. At that time there were three transcontinental mail lines, but the greater part of the mail between the East and the far West was sent by way of Panama, in about twenty-two days. The demand for a more rapid mail service between the East and the West led to the establishment in the spring of 1860 of the famous "Pony Express," the mail being carried rapidly overland on horseback under the direction of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company.

The first pony express left St. Joseph April 31, 1860. The

schedule allowed eight days to reach San Francisco. Stations averaging at first twenty-five miles apart were established, and each rider was expected to cover seventy-five miles a day. Eventually there were 190 stations, 200 station keepers, 200 assistant station keepers, 80 riders, and between 400 and 500 horses. The quickest trip was that made for the delivery of President Lincoln's inaugural address, the distance between St. Joseph and Sacramento, 1,950 miles, being covered in seven days and seventeen hours. At first the company charged $5 for each half-ounce, but later reduced the charge to $2.50. The regular pony express service was discontinued upon the completion of the line of the Pacific Telegraph Company in October, 1861. The service was often interrupted by Indian hostilities, and was extremely hazardous for riders and station keepers alike.

BUILDING OF THE CAIRO & FULTON RAILROAD.

From The Charleston *Enterprise-Courier*, September 29, 1921.

The Cairo & Fulton was projected as a transcontinental railroad, to connect the Ohio and Mississippi rivers with the Pacific ocean. It was organized and surveyed in 1857, the eastern terminus of the line to be at Bird's Point and the western terminus emporarily at Fulton, Arkansas, on the Red River. The project took form rapidly, due largely to the people of Mississippi county, who pledged $50,000 to the road and who were largely instrumental in obtaining large grants of land from the State to aid in financing its construction. The contract for the grading and timbers was awarded to Col. H. J. Deal of Charleston, and in 1858 the first locomotive, the Sol. G. Kitchen, was brought to Bird's Point and placed upon the rails—one of the first engines to be operated west of the Mississippi River.

On April 19, 1859, the tracks of the Cairo & Fulton were completed into Charleston. Mr. E. P. Deal recalls hearing his father tell of the fact that the track construction contractors had a bet with the citizens of this city regarding the date upon which the tracks would be laid into Charleston, and that his father's grading crew, who were at work about a mile east of Sikeston, were brought to Charleston on that day, in order that they might assist the construction gang in winning the big dinner which was the wager on this occasion, and which they succeeded in winning, the tracks being laid and the first train brought into Charleston about 6 o'clock.

The Cairo & Fulton was completed as far as Sikeston before construction was halted by the Civil War, which bankrupted the line. During the war the equipment of the road, including the

Sol. G. Kitchen and the Abe Hunter, which was engine number 2, was kept in Charleston. Following the war the Kitchen was dismantled here by Col. Deal, who obtained possession of some of the equipment through payments due him by the insolvent road.

At the close of the war efforts to revive the Cairo & Fulton Railroad failed and in 1871 Col. Deal obtained a contract to dismantle the road, all the iron being taken up and brought to Charleston. Mr. E. P. Deal states that, as a boy, he assisted in dismantling the line, the rails being hauled into Charleston over the railroad on trucks pulled by mules. When the tracks were taken up from Sikeston to Bertrand, his father, who laid out the latter town in 1859, decided to move some of the buildings in that place to Charleston. These too were brought in by mule power over the railroad.

Shortly after this dismantling the Cairo, Arkansas & Texas Railroad was organized and built a new railroad along the survey and dump of the old Cairo & Fulton, starting, however, at Greenfield's Landing instead of at Bird's Point. Owing to a sandbar at Greenfield's, however, the road was built from Rodney into the old terminus a few months later. Construction was finished from Sikeston to Poplar Bluff and the road became an important factor in the develpoment of southeast Missouri. It was purchased in the latter '70's by Thomas Allen, president of the Iron Mountain Railroad, and made part of that system.

PERSONALS.

Judge A. D. Burnes: Born near Platte City, Missouri, October 27, 1864; died at Platte City, November 30, 1921. He was educated at Vanderbilt University and the University of Missouri and began the practice of law in Platte City in 1885. He served as city attorney of Platte City for eight years and as prosecuting attorney of Platte county four years. In 1898 he was elected judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit and served until his death.

Lewis Clemons: Born in Washington county, Tennessee, October 14, 1815; died at Stockton, Missouri, December 12, 1921. At the outbreak of the Mexican war Mr. Clemons enlisted with the 8th Illinois Infantry and served under General Taylor. He came to Missouri in 1855 and saw service in the Civil War as a member of the Missouri Militia, and later with the 9th Missouri Cavalry.

JEHIEL T. DAY: Born near Mt. Vernon, Ohio, November 12, 1833; died at Gallatin, Missouri, August 24, 1921. During the Civil War he served in the Union cause with an Ohio regiment, coming to Missouri in 1866, after the close of the war. In 1876 he purchased a half interest in the Gallatin *North Missourian*. Later he served several terms as postmaster of Gallatin and one term as probate judge of Daviess county.

HON. JAMES L. DOWNING: Born in Scotland county, Missouri, January 27, 1851; died at Malden, Missouri, November 7, 1921. Washington University, in 1870, awarded Mr. Downing his law degree, and he was made a member of the bar four years later. He first practiced in Schuyler county, but removed to Dunklin county in 1884. There he became active in politics and was probate judge of the county from 1899 to 1903. He also served as State Railroad Commissioner from 1882 to 1889.

HON. EMMETT B. FIELDS: Born in Sullivan county, Missouri, January 24, 1863; died at Browning, Missouri, September 3, 1922. He was admitted to the bar in 1887 and practiced law in Browning from that time until his death. He was active in all political matters and was a candidate for office on several occasions. In 1898 he was elected to the State Senate from the 6th district, and was reelected to this office in 1902 and 1906.

HON. R. Q. GILLILAND: Born in Ozark county, Missouri, October 22, 1845; died at Gainesville, Missouri, November, 12, 1921. He served Ozark county as deputy circuit clerk and as recorder and was a member of the lower house in the 27th General Assembly.

HON. JUDSON B. HALE: Born in Adams county, Illinois, February 7, 1849; died at Carrollton, Missouri, September 22, 1921. He came to Carroll county as a young man and spent most of his life on a farm there. He took a leading

part in Republican politics in Carroll county. He served twice as judge of the county court and twice—in 1909 and 1911—as representative from Carroll county in the General Assembly.

DR. C. LESTER HALL: Born in Arrow Rock, Missouri, in 1845; died at Kansas City, June 10, 1922. Dr. Hall was educated at the St. Joseph Medical College and at the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia. He began practice at Kansas City in 1890. He was a member of several medical associations and was president of the Missouri Medical Association in 1896. He also had served as vice-president of the American Medical Association.

J. A. HUDSON: Born in Montgomery county, Missouri, October 7, 1853; died at Kirksville, Missouri, July 22, 1922. Early in life Mr. Hudson engaged in the newspaper business, learning the business in the office of the old Macon *Times*, of which publication he became the owner and editor in 1883. Prior to his purchase of the *Times* he had been a part owner of the Macon *Examiner* and the founder of the *Chariton Courier* at Keytesville. He sold the *Times* in 1896 and in 1898 located in Columbia and engaged in the telephone business. This business he conducted until his death. He was also interested in dairy farming, owning several hundred acres of land near McBaine, Missouri, in the Missouri river bottom. He was president of the Missouri Press Association in 1885-86 and had always been prominent in its activities.

JOHN W. JACKS: Born in Monroe county, Missouri, September 1, 1845; died at Montgomery City, Missouri, December 6, 1921. He learned the printing business as a boy and, after engaging in the work in several Missouri towns, settled in Montgomery City in 1880, becoming the owner and editor of the *Standard*. He conducted this publication up to the time of his death.

HON. CHARLES F. KRONE: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, December 15, 1863; died in St. Louis June 22, 1922. He received his education at the University of Missouri and was made a member of the Missouri bar in 1889. He practiced law in St. Louis from that time until his death. He served as assistant circuit attorney in 1899 and 1900 and was a member of the State Senate in 1909.

HON. JERROLD RANSON LETCHER: Born in Missouri in 1851; died at Salt Lake City, August 12, 1922. Mr. Letcher was educated at the University of Missouri and for a short time after his graduation practiced law in the state of Colorado. He removed to Salt Lake City in 1890 and became prominent in public life in Utah. In 1894 he was a member of the last "Utah Commission" and was a member of the committee which presented the state constitution to the president for approval. After the state was admitted to the Union he served for nearly 20 years as clerk of the circuit and district courts. At the time of his death he was United States referee in bankruptcy, a position he had filled since 1917.

JOHN THOMAS MITCHELL: Born near Columbia, Missouri, July 16, 1857; died at Columbia October 22, 1921. As a young man he organized the Bank of Centralia and was connected with this institution until the time of his death. He served as State Bank Commissioner during the administration of Governor Major.

HON. SAMUEL F. O'FALLON: Born in Scott county, Minnesota, March 23, 1857; died at Oregon, Missouri, July 8, 1922. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1880. From 1883 to 1885 he was prosecuting attorney of Holt county, and from 1887 to 1895 was probate judge. In 1896 he was elected representative from Holt county to the Missouri General Assembly. To this office he was re-elected in 1898, 1902, 1918 and 1920. He served as speaker of the House during his last two terms and was a member of the statutes revision committee in 1899 and 1919.

J. W. PEERY: Born at Edinburg, Missouri, June 28, 1855; died at Albany, Missouri, July 10, 1922. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1877, practicing, with the exception of four years, his profession at Albany until the time of his death. He was recognized as one of the leading attorneys of northwest Missouri and was known as an able pleader before the bar. He had been a member of the State Historical Society for many years.

ADMIRAL URIEL SEBREE: Born in Howard county, Missouri, February 20, 1848; died at Coronado, California, August 6, 1922. In 1862 he was appointed a naval cadet to Annapolis by Wm. C. Hall, at that time congressman. He graduated from Annapolis in 1865 and served in the various ranks of the navy until 1910, when he was retired as an admiral. Prior to his retirement he was in command of the Pacific fleet.

HON. GEORGE W. WANAMAKER: Born on Prince Edward Island, Ontario, Canada, October 8, 1846; died at Bethany, Missouri, November 18, 1921. He came with his parents to Missouri in 1869 and, after graduating from the University of Michigan, took up the practice of law at Kirksville. A few years later he removed to Bethany. In 1904 he was elected judge of the Third judicial circuit and was re-elected in 1910.

HON. JOHN F. WELLS: Born May 14, 1832, at Bethany, Indiana; died at West Plains, Missouri, November 2, 1921. When a boy 14 years of age he became a member of Company B, 5th Indiana Volunteer Cavalry and took part in all campaigns throughout the Mexican War. At the outbreak of the Civil War Mr. Wells enlisted in the 15th Illinois Volunteer Cavalry and served three years under General Grant.

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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ERNST C. KROHN, pianist and composer, was born in New York City but has been a resident of St. Louis since 1899. He has been prominently identified with the musical life of St. Louis for the past fifteen years and has been professionally active as teacher and pianist. He was secretary of the Musicians' Guild of St. Louis for seven years and was also a member of the International Music Society, Music Teachers' National Association, and the Missouri Music Teachers' Association. He has composed many piano pieces, "Valse D'Amour," "Valse Serenade," and a "River Romance" being typical compositions. He has contributed articles on piano study to the *Etude* and the *Musician*. His monographic study of "The Bibliography of Music" appeared in *The Musical Quarterly*.

MRS. ETHEL MASSIE (ROBERT S.) WITHERS, was born in Illinois and reared in Missouri. She received her A. B. degree from the University of Missouri in 1903 and for three years taught history in the Liberty (Mo.) high school. In 1906 she married Robert Steele Withers, descendant of one of the oldest families in Clay county. Mrs. Withers has been prominently identified with women's club and organization work, and in 1915-1917 was state historian of the D. A. R. of Missouri. She compiled and illustrated the lecture "Pioneering in Missouri," contributed to W. H. Woodson's *History of Clay County*, and planned the Clay County Centennial Celebration for 1922.

MISS GRACE L. GILMORE has been employed in The State Historical Society since June, 1922. She received her degree of A. B. from the State University of Iowa, having specialized in history. Miss Gilmore contributed in the final compilation of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* (1820-1864, 3 vols.), recently published by The State Historical Society.

JOHN N. EDWARDS (deceased), one of the most widely known journalists of Missouri, was a member of Shelby's expedition to Mexico. He is regarded by some competent authorities as having been the greatest master of journalistic writing that the State has produced.

WILEY BRITTON, author, public official, and Civil War veteran, is a native Missourian. Born in Newton county in 1842, he has spent much of his life in western and southwestern Missouri. From 1871 to 1905 he was special agent of the War Department and later special examiner of the Bureau of Pensions in investigating war claims in Missouri, where he examined fifteen thousand witnesses. Mr. Britton is the author of several valuable works on the Civil War, among which are *The Civil War on the Border* (2 vols.) and *Memoirs of the Rebellion, 1863*.

THE MISSOURIAN

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

Ninety-five out of the hundred Missourians were born in the United States. Seventy out of the hundred Missourians are natives of the state. These results Floyd C. Shoemaker obtains from the census of 1920 and presents in his recently published "Missouri and Missourians."

"So Missourians means more than most people think," Mr. Shoemaker comments.

In the "Autobiography of Missouri," prepared for the World's Fair of 1904, Dean Walter Williams, of the School of Journalism, defined the spirit of the united citizenship of Missouri and suggested the Missourian as a type:

"The spirit of Missouri is the spirit of progress, tempered by conservatism. It rejects not the old because of its age, nor refuses the new because it is not old. It is the spirit of a community conscious of its own secure position, somewhat too careless at times of the world's opinion, hospitable, generous, brave. The dream of the greatest statesman is a nation of useful citizens dwelling in happy homes. In Missouri the dream finds realization. The noble Latin motto of the state has ever expressed—and does—the spirit of the united citizenship: 'Let the welfare of the people be the supreme law.' "

Some years ago Dean Williams, in a newspaper article, took up the question, What composite is the present-day Missourian? He traced the making of this composite through the century and one-half of white settlement. The Missourian, he said, was first a Frenchman, then a Kentuckian. But in the forties and fifties came the Germans and the Irish.

"Of all the foreign-born immigrants," said Dean Williams, "the German in number and effect upon the life of the state has been the largest and the chief."

Following, soon after the Civil war, came settlers from every state in the Union and from every country of the globe, but more especially from the states north and east of Missouri and from the countries of Northern Europe.

"This new immigration," said Dr. Williams, "has made Missouri more cosmopolitan but scarcely less conservative than it was previous to the Civil war."

Coming down to still more recent times the Dean said:

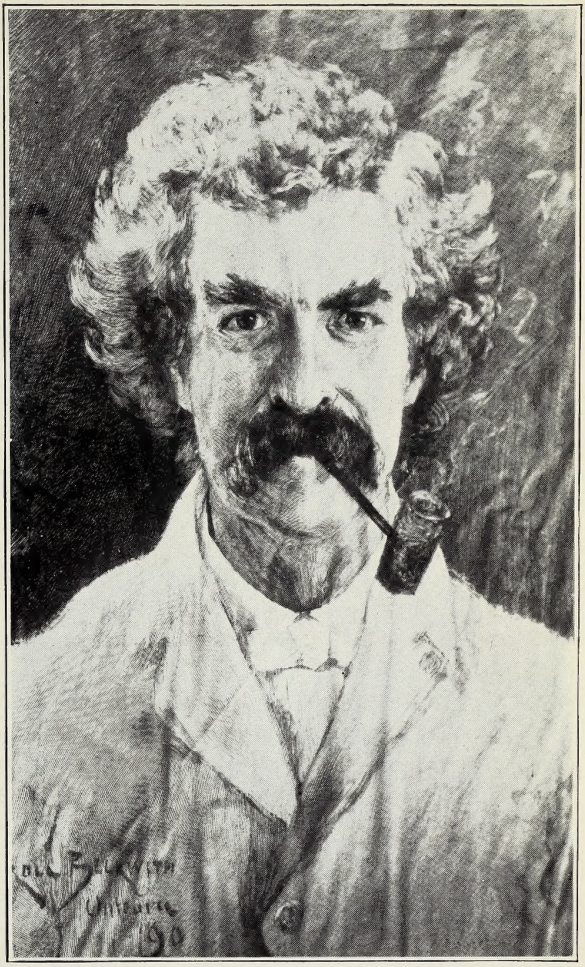
"The last quarter of a century has brought to Missouri immigrants from every section. The Kentuckian has not ceased to come but he is outnumbered now among the ranks of the immigrants by newcomers from Illinois, Iowa, Indiana and Ohio. The population of Missouri is no longer of the South but of the Middle West. It has strong admixture of Kentucky sentiment, but the North and East contribute much to its population and hence to its social, political and commercial life."

A conclusion, interesting and significant, may be based upon Dr. Williams' tracing of Missouri immigration through the several generations. The Missouri melting pot has not been a hodge podge commingling of many elements. One ingredient of new population at a time has been added and for a period sufficient to permit assimilation. Thus the composite character of the Missourian has been formed slowly and in enduring quality.

The commingling of elements in Missouri's population was the subject of a bulletin of the state government a few years ago. It was shown that of Missourians adopted from other states at that time, Illinois led in numbers, and was followed by Kentucky, Kansas, Ohio, Indiana, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, New York, Virginia, Nebraska and Wisconsin, in that order. The remaining states of the Union, at the time of this analysis, had contributed 106,441 of their sons and daughters to Missouri. Of Illinois birth there were 186,691 Missourians at that time.

Is the Missourian the best type of the American to-day? In his address at the centennial celebration of Missouri statehood, August 10, 1921, on the State Fair Grounds at Sedalia, Senator Reed said:

"The material progress of the state, its sturdy adherence to the sound principles of free government and the high



MARK TWAIN
The Best Known Missourian
(*From a Painting by Carroll Beckwith*)

type of its Americanism is accounted for if we remember that Missouri is in no sense a sectional state. Originally settled by venturesome spirits from Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee who brought with them the institutions, romance and chivalry of the old South, her later population came largely from the North and East, bringing with them the virtues and sterling qualities of that great region. From this commingling of the descendants of Cavalier and Puritan there was developed a people possessed of the virtues of both strains, yet free from the narrowness and prejudice which had characterized each blood. Thus was developed the Missourian, the typical American."

Following Senator Reed, Senator Meyers, of Montana, a Missourian abroad, enlarged upon the Missourian as the typical American:

"Missouri, in different ways, occupies an unique position; unique in geography, population, history. In the North she is called the South. In the South she is called the North. In the East she is called the West. In the West she is called the East. She combines the good of all of these. She is almost the center of the United States, and may be considered the center of the world and of the universe. Her populace commingles Southern hospitality, Yankee shrewdness, German thrift, Irish generosity, Western enterprise. She combines Virginia's gracious culture with the intense patriotism of Massachusetts. Sturdy manhood from North and South and sturdy comers from nearly every European country meet here and make the Missouri product. The warm chivalric blood of the South commingles with the rigid virtues of New England puritanism. Here it is that a man is a man and he is what he makes himself, no matter what his ancestry."

In 1920, Mr. Shoemaker finds, there were 821,377 Missourians resident who were born in other parts of the United States. But living in other parts of the United States were 1,136,610 natives of Missouri. That is to say, Missouri had sent to the other parts of the country 315,235 more than the state had received. Down to 1900 Missouri was steadily the gainer from this interstate immigration. But in 1910 there

was a net loss of 92,220, increasing to 315,235 in 1920. Further analysis of the census of 1920 showed that this movement of Missourians has been in all directions, more largely toward the West and Southwest, but not of insignificant proportions to the North and East and Southeast. Missourians resident in Illinois at one time reached about 100,000. Whether this increasing drift of Missourians to other states is a matter for congratulation by Missouri is questionable. That it is well for the rest of the country—for the national melting pot—may be claimed. Wherever he has gone, north, east, west or south, the Missourian has carried strong qualities of citizenship. At the centennial celebration in Sedalia, Senator Meyers of Montana spoke for the Missourian abroad:

"Missouri has done a noble part in the settlement and development of all states west of the Missouri river, from North Dakota to Texas, Kansas to California. Wherever one may go in all that vast domain he will find large numbers of Missourians. They have helped to build new commonwealths. There they till the soil, engage in industry, commerce, trade crafts, livestock raising, banking, the professions and politics. They are not at all backward in pressing their claims for political preferment. In some of the new commonwealths they hold a goodly share of the public offices. In every part of the West her sons and daughters may be found at the front. Missouri has done yeoman service as an empire builder. In that way she has done her country a great service."

"Industrious, intelligent, patriotic, progressive, law-abiding, God-fearing people" was Champ Clark's summing up of the Missourians he had known. He said:

"Missouri is proud of her immeasurably physical resources, which will one day make her *facile princeps* among her sisters; but there is something else of which she is prouder still, and that is her splendid citizenship. When questioned as to her riches she could with propriety imitate the example and quote the words of Cornelia, the mother of the heroic Gracchi, and pointing to her children, say truthfully and pridefully, 'these are my jewels.' "

As a marked trait of the Missourian, "God-fearing" well may be emphasized. When a newspaper in 1914 announced a contest for "remarkable records of continuous attendance at Sunday schools throughout Missouri," it brought out amazing results. Absences on account of sickness or accident were not accepted. But the responses showed that attendance without missing a single Sunday for ten years and upwards was not uncommon. There were two awards, one for the best record made by persons over twenty years of age and one based on attendance of persons under twenty years. A striking fact about those of the lower age was that it showed attendance of many young Missourians beginning when two and three years old and continuing without a break for years. The award in this class went to a St. Louis youth, who at the age of nineteen had not missed a Sunday at school for fifteen years.

The judges found that William McClung Paxton, of Platte City, had the longest continuous attendance at Sunday school. He was ninety-four years old. He had been an attendant at Sunday school eighty-nine years, during sixty-four years of which he had not missed a Sunday. The Missouri Sunday School Association challenged the rest of the United States and Canada to beat this record of Mr. Paxton.

By the common consent of the rest of the American nation the Missourian is of goodly stature, but without surplus adipose.

"You Missourians are such tall, big men," a lady from the Atlantic seaboard said to Governor Thomas C. Fletcher at a White House reception. "I have met a dozen Missourians this evening and every one of them was a fine-looking man. Are all the men in Missouri of such good stature?"

"Madam," said the war governor, looking down from his full six feet, "I am rather below the Missouri average."

In a Washington newspaper of 1869, Grace Greenwood told this: "During the visit of Mr. Macready to this country, as he was traveling on a western steamboat, he was pointed out by a waggish clerk to a rough backwoodsman as Ole Bull, who was then giving concerts in the West. The great

tragedian sat apart on the deck wrapped in poetic contemplation and insular dignity; but the tall Missourian strode immediately up to him, and, with a startling slap on the shoulder, thus accosted him: 'Hello, old Hoss! Old Bull! Whar's your fiddle?' The stately actor turned upon him, and, with a withering look, and in his most tragic tone, replied: 'Sir, I am not a horse; neither am I a bull; neither have I a fiddle.' "

In the tales of seaboard invention for a century and in the latter-day cartoons, the unnamed Missourian invariably figures as "tall" or "gaunt."

When David R. Francis was governor he took with him a provisional regiment for participation in the dedication of the Chicago World Fair. Those marching Missourians carried off the honors for physical appearance and splendid movement. Looking down with critical eyes from the reviewing stand the diplomat of a European nation commented on the Missourians, "They are the best of the state soldiers."

Frederick Palmer, newspaper correspondent of international fame, said of the Thirty-fifth division, composed largely of Missourians, in the World war:

"No finer-looking soldiers ever went into action. Their eagerness was in keeping with their vitality. Compared with the little men of the Seventy-seventh (New York City division), who were overburdened with heavy packs, they were giants of the type which carried packs of double the army weight over Chilkoot Pass in the Klondyke rush. Their inheritance gave them not only the strength but the incentive of the pioneers."

Of the 765,045 young Missourians drawn by the selective law for service in the World war, 606,700 were found by the medical examiners to be "physically fit."

"The Missourian is a fighting man," said Judge John Finis Philips at the centennial dinner in Daniel Boone Tavern, Columbia, January 8, 1918, the one-hundredth anniversary of Missouri's appeal to Congress for statehood and admission to the Union.

"He is like what Sam Cox said of the Irishman, 'He is

never at peace except when in a fight.' In all of our national wars, the Missourians have been heroes in the strife. They formed the rank and file of that untiring, dauntless band that followed the plume of Colonel Richard Gentry through the Everglades of Florida, and put to inglorious flight the fierce Seminole Indians. They made up that immortal regiment of Doniphan's Expedition that marched across the desert wastes from Fort Leavenworth to the Rio Grande river and on through the sand and cactus of Mexico to Chihuahua, and planted our flag on its capitol. They helped to carry it through the land of the Aztec to his ancient capital and unfurled it from the Castle of Chapultepec. The only time that they divided in devotion to the nation's flag was in the Civil war, when about 70,000 followed the Stars and Bars and about 110,000 stuck to the old Star Spangled Banner, and they made a record glorious in courage and fortitude."

And then Judge Philips paid his tribute to the Missourians, "the flower and chivalry of American young manhood" who were carrying the flag across the Atlantic.

"The personal prowess of the Missourian is known and recognized throughout the entire West," John N. Edwards wrote in the introduction to his booklet titled "A Terrible Quintet," printed in the decade following the Civil war:

"In rencontres where death finds one or the other, it comes to other than the Missourian in the proportion of eight to two. Twice in ten times the Missourian gets the worst of it. His points of superiority are soon summed up. He is cooler, quicker, more accurate, and more in practice with the revolver than any other weapon. The pistol which carries a dragoon ball is his choice. This makes fearful work and ends a combat speedily. Besides, the Missourian—either from superior physical development, or from a larger share of the old Highlander blood which died hardest when the sword cuts were deepest and the lance-thrusts the most numerous—can carry off more lead than the best of the other states and territories. The first shot is very rarely fatal, no matter how it may end afterwards. Taken at a disadvantage, and mortally wounded,

a Missourian has yet struggled up against the blow and killed even when in the hands of death, himself."

Politically the generations have wrought an evolution in the Missourian. Tracing the campaigns and election returns of this state for a century, Mr. Shoemaker's book makes this evolution plain. In the earlier years of his career Senator Vest had a story he told to illustrate the fidelity of the Missourian to his party. When the campaign was fervent and some Democrat in Washington wanted to know if Missouri was really safe, the senator would tell this:

Uncle John was a devout member of the church and an unswerving party man. A national convention was in session. Uncle John lived away from the railroad and the telegraph—before the days of the neighborhood telephone. It was at a time when the world was agog with a great scandal. The boys had gone to town to get the latest news from the convention. They were late getting home. Uncle John waited impatiently for them. On the way the boys planned a surprise to test the political faith of the old man. As they galloped up to the house, Uncle John came out on the gallery.

"Have you heard the ticket, Uncle John?" they asked.

"No," said Uncle John. "Hev they nominated?"

"Yep!"

"Who?"

"Beecher and Tilton."

"Sho!"

"It's a fact, Uncle John. The Democrats have nominated Beecher for President, Tilton for Vice-President."

The old man looked incredulously at the boys. Their faces gave no sign of deception. Uncle John looked down the road a few moments. Then, as he turned to back into the house, he said:

"Well, boys, they're very able men."

The senator did not need to comment.

The first quarter of the century of Missouri politics, Mr. Shoemaker characterizes as the rule of "The fathers"—the men who had laid the foundations of the state. The Missourian of 1820-1844 followed his chosen leaders. From 1844

to the opening of the Civil war was a period in which issues took the place of personal champions. The Missourian was for the rights of the states or for the Union. Missourians aligned themselves on that question. With the Civil war and following came party allegiance dominating in Missouri politics. But beginning not long after 1870 and continuing down to 1904 was a period which Mr. Shoemaker shows was marked by "the growing power of the individual voter." Third parties, four of them, came into more or less vigorous existence and drew, temporarily at least, considerable followings from the old parties. From 1904 down to the present the independence of the Missourian as a voter has been growing. "During this period," Mr. Shoemaker points out, "Missouri elected five governors, three of whom were Democrats and two Republicans. Missouri voted for five Presidents, and three times she cast her vote for a Republican and two times for a Democrat. This indicates a doubtful state politically."

Had Mr. Shoemaker written his analysis of Missouri politically later than the ides of November, 1922, he would have had additional evidence of the independence of the Missouri voter.

The Missourian is not vainglorious. He does not "strike twelve the first time." He has reserve force. Mark Twain told of a wandering Missourian who came back to the old home and began to inquire about former acquaintances. Of a young lawyer the town report was, "Never amounted to nothin' around here. Couldn't get a case to try; but he moved to St. Louis and got elected judge." Of another it was told, "We used to think around town that Sam didn't know enough to run a retail grocery but he went to the city an' now he's manager of a wholesale place that covers a block." The third case of the Missourian who had "arrived," unexpectedly to his old neighbors was this, "Couldn't a bin elected dogcatcher here, but he went away, and darn me if they didn't elect him to Congress."

When David R. Francis decided to contribute five years of the prime of his life to the World's Fair of 1904, he gave

voice to an expression which has application in any analysis of the Missouri character. He found motive for his decision in the possible influence the World's Fair might have upon the people of Missouri's chief city:

"St. Louis has needed something like this. We are a peculiarly self-centered people. We own our own city. We have always stood ready to furnish capital to others. We are strong and prosperous financially. But we are perhaps too independent. We need to be brought more closely into contact with the outside world. We need to have a certain narrowness of vision altered. We need to learn something of our own merits and possibilities, so that many of our own people will realize a little better than they do that St. Louis is, in its way, as great a city as any on the continent."

A former Missouri Congressman, C. M. Shartel, gave a time-exposure of the average Missourian upon a strictly materialistic film:

"I have said for years that everybody in Missouri comes nearer having three square meals a day and a bed to sleep on than the people of any other state in the Union. We haven't very many rich people and scarcely any poor ones. It is a rare thing in the country districts of Missouri to hear of anybody needing financial assistance."

In 1886 a St. Louis newspaper undertook a canvass of "Wealth in Missouri Towns." The purpose was to show "the reward of those who grew up with the country." The canvass called for the six wealthiest men" in each town with concise information as to the methods by which material prosperity had been obtained. That the estimates might be based on better than common report, the assessment for taxes in each case was given. Results of the canvass occupied more than thirty closely printed columns in small type. Commenting on the findings, the newspaper said:

"They show a degree of thrift and prudence among Missouri citizens which does honor to this great commonwealth. In a large degree they point to wealth derived from early adventurous settlement of cheap land which has been steadily clung to and which has just as steadily risen in value.

Next to this cause, a judicious use of money in banking business has been the greatest source of increase in wealth. The manufacturing element seems to have taken hold somewhat later, but displays a steady growth. Politics cut little figure in explaining the secret of success and a large majority of the parties named, when asked for their opinion of the silver dollar, are free to say that the question is of secondary importance, the primary necessity being the getting of the dollar; and that thrift and politics travel divergent paths. The reader will not fail to note the frequent, almost constant, reference to investment in bonds."

More recently a newspaper canvass revealed a surprising number of Missouri farm houses upon which $10,000 and upwards had been expended for modern architecture and equipment.

A dozen years ago a newspaper inaugurated a census of Missourians who had reached one hundred years. The enumeration was "astonishing," the newspaper said. "There is no dearth of centenarians." At the head of the list was a Barton county resident who had lived one hundred and eleven years. This Missourian, Henry Dorman, had served in the Civil war and had been given a special pension by Congress on the score of his advanced age.

Another Missouri newspaper maintained for weeks a column of "Old People," illustrating in convincing array the longevity of the Missourian.

The Missourian is deliberate and careful in speech. He has no use for what an old politician at Jefferson City was wont to condemn as "the palaverin' tongue."

The Missourian has initiative in marked degree. When magazine enterprise in the East took the form of a journey to discover "big country merchants" it led to communities in widely scattered sections of Missouri and to methods differing much in originality. There was Tom Witten of Trenton whose helpfulness of others had made him one of the most successful business men of the Midwest and so well known that the City Club of St. Louis sent for him to come down and tell all about it. Then there was "the Neosho

Plan" which brought visiting delegations from other states to see how a town's business was boomed by the system of every merchant boosting every competitor. And a third case was the highly profitable experiment of Bowling Green in abolishing credit and giving the customers the full profit saved by cash sales as compared with the old way of running accounts. Down at West Plains, in the Ozarks, was found a Missouri idea which had built up a business of $250,000 a year, eighty-five per cent of which was with farmers, some of whom came as far as seventy-five miles to trade with Charles T. Aid. "Uncle Charley" to all that region kept an electric piano and set apart a section of the big store for the amusement of the children. He put a full-length mirror in his store window next to the church so that the women folks could see themselves in Sunday array. He led the fight for good roads. He did a score of other things for the good of that part of the Ozarks, and thereby came his business success. Of about a dozen "big country merchants" in the whole United States, with striking ideals which were commendable and profitable, four were found in Missouri by the eastern magazine.

Of "big country churches," so original and successful in their methods as to make interesting reading for the rest of the country, two were found in Southeast Missouri. Missouri, with its poultry product of $86,000,000 in a twelvemonth, has shown the model hen house which other states have copied. The greatest agricultural uplift in the past two decades has been the farming development of the once so-called "sunk lands" with their present system of 30,000 miles of drainage ditches. A Missouri doctor, three generations ago, carried bluegrass seed with his quinine pills in his saddlebags and scattered that seed along the roadsides. To-day one county, Gentry, grows more blue grass seed than any other county in the world and Missouri is the first bluegrass state in the country. Apples! The leading varieties in the United States originated with Missouri horticulturists and Missouri nursery stock goes to all parts of the world. Missourians have produced a cotton with an inch to an inch and a sixtieth of fibre

which grades the highest that reaches the Memphis market.

The Missourian is an individualist. Four distinct movements tending toward new ideals of government, based on paternalistic or socialistic principles, were started in Missouri between 1870 and 1900. They gained much headway in some neighboring states. They failed of even temporary success in their appeal to the Missourian. Waves of speculation have swept up to the borders of Missouri and receded before the conservative, common sense of the Missourian. Boom periods in real estate have been short-lived here. "I'm from Missouri! You'll have to show me," may have philosophy as well as humor in it. The late Norman J. Colman, first secretary of agriculture, who knew Missourians from long life and much travel among them, held to this explanation of the saying: "I think it forms or contains a correct estimate of Missouri character. It is true that we are not a people who will accept as truth statements of moment which the maker should be able to demonstrate as fact."

Missouri individuality has found unending expression in restoring worn-out farms, in improving stock to make five pounds of beef where one was produced formerly from scrubs; in "starting without a dollar"; in "making good in the Ozarks"; in "doing the best with what he has got." A Missourian, who as a boy lived in a log cabin with greased paper for windows, died not long ago leaving a farm of 23,000 acres which had produced million dollar crops making the owner "the corn king of the world" and furnishing endowment of a college.

There isn't a community, town or rural, in Missouri where individualism and initiative have not wrought some marvel in achievement. It is true that this trait of the Missourian has occasionally found outlet in personal eccentricity of speech and action, often enough, perhaps, to promote the gaiety of the neighborhood, but such instances have been only "the exceptions which proved the rule."

A CENTURY OF MISSOURI MUSIC*

BY ERNST C. KROHN.

INTRODUCTION

It was originally intended to present the theme "A Century of Music in Missouri" in two distinct sections, Part One to narrate the historical development of the musical life, concert as well as operatic, of St. Louis, and Part Two to survey in a comprehensive manner the work of the Missouri Composer. The accumulation of accurate data pertaining to music in St. Louis turned out to be a task of greater magnitude than was at first expected. Limitation of time suggested the advisability of deferring that project to the future. In passing, mention may be made of the fact that the material accumulated to date has been card indexed in various ways, the most important indexes being a Chronological Index containing a date card for every important musical event in St. Louis, a Composition Index containing a card for every orchestral composition, opera, choral work and concerto, with dates of all St. Louis performances, and an Artist Index containing a card for every artist who has appeared in recital or concert, as well as every orchestra, choral, operatic, or other musical organization, with dates of all St. Louis appearances.

The present study is based on data derived from the above material as well as from the replies to a Questionnaire sent out early in 1922 to approximately one thousand musicians in Missouri and elsewhere. Missouri composers and their works will be given primary consideration, and concert life will only be touched upon incidentally. For the purpose of this study, a Missouri Composer is a musician who (1) was born in Missouri, or who (2) at some period of his life was actively identified with music in Missouri for a minimum period of ten years, or who (3) is at present a resident and has

*Copyrighted, 1923.

been musically active in Missouri for a minimum period of five years prior to January 1, 1923. In the interpretation of this formula due consideration was given to local tradition, and many composers were tentatively included in the absence of direct historical evidence to the contrary. If a majority of the early composers are found to hail from St. Louis, it may be pleaded that this is due not so much to a desire to feature St. Louis, as to a lamentable lack of reliable information from the rest of the state. It must be emphasized that although this study is the result of original and systematic research, it does not pretend to be more than a preliminary survey of a rich and fascinating field whose complete exploration will be a matter of time and opportunity.

The author wishes to gratefully acknowledge his indebtedness for assistance rendered in the prosecution of this study to Mrs. Rosalie Balmer Smith, whose rich collection of original programs and documents dating from 1837 to the present time was of inestimable value, to Mrs. Nettie H. Beauregard and Miss Stella M. Drumm of the Missouri Historical Society, to Mr. Arthur J. Gaines of the St. Louis Symphony Society, to Mr. Ernest R. Kroeger, to Mr. Walter R. Whittlesey of the Library of Congress, to Mr. Frank Eakin of the Warrington Memorial Library at Western Theological Seminary, to the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, the Kansas City Public Library, the St. Louis Mercantile Library, and to all who furnished data of any kind, particularly the many musicians whose cordial co-operation rendered the Questionnaire a success.

PART ONE

SECTION 1—BEGINNINGS

In the beginning was the Folk Song, that lyrical outpouring of the soul of naive humanity. The aboriginal inhabitants of the future "Missouri," accompanied their mystic rites with the weird chant and the incessant drum beat which still characterize the music of the American Indian. The Canadian *voyageurs* and French Creoles from the Illinois

settlements who founded St. Louis in 1764, sang the songs of *La Belle* France. Indeed, at least one "French" folk song seems to have been born on Missouri soil, for schoolmaster Trudeau's poem, inspired by the Indian Massacre of 1780, found lyrical utterance in true folk song style.[1] The early Americans who invaded Missouri at the dawn of the new century, brought with them the ballads of English origin, some of which are still to be heard after the lapse of a century, in certain remote portions of the state.[2] The rich treasure trove of German folk song poured into the state with the German emigrants of the early '30s, and through persistent culture by that typical German institution, the *Maennerchor*, eventually became the common heritage of all cultured musicians.

Valuable evidence of the Anglo-American influx is offered by the music performed in the course of the Fourth of July celebration at St. Louis in 1809. On that occasion, according to the *Missouri Gazette*, issue of July 12, "seventeen toasts were drank, attended by the discharge of cannon and suitable music." The "suitable music" consisted of "Hail Columbia," "Washington's March," "Lamentation for Washington's Death," "Yankee Doodle" (twice), "Jefferson's March," "President's March" (twice), "Cease rude Boreas blustering railer," "Vive a La," "Soldier's Joy" (twice), "The Jolly Miller," "The Jolly Haymakers," "Roslin Castle," "Burns' Farewell," and "The Soldier's Return."

Formal music making may be said to date from the year 1817. The *Missouri Gazette*, issue of Saturday, February 22, 1817, contained this announcement:

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[1] See "History of the Chanson de L'Annee du Coup" by Wilson Primm (edited by Wm. C. Breckenridge) in *Missouri Historical Society Collections, Volume IV, page 295.* The melody reproduced in facsimile does not tally with the traditional version utilized by Noel Poepping in the Incidental Music to the Centennial Drama "Missouri 100 Years Ago."

[2] See "Ballads and Songs" by G. L. Kittredge in *The Journal of American Folklore, Volume XXX, page 283.*

GRAND CONCERT.

On Saturday evening next (March 1st) at the Theatre, will be performed a Grand Concert of MUSIC, by Messrs. Thomas and Louther, assisted by several amateurs.[3]

Music undoubtedly formed part of the theatrical entertainment offered by the Thespian Society, January 6, 1815,[4] and after, although it was not until December 30, 1816,[5] that the usual theatrical notice contained the reassuring announcement "Excellent music provided." To what extent musicians were available for professional work may be inferred from the postscript to the announcement of the opening of the New Theatre, February 1, 1819, to wit: "Musicians who are inclined to play will call at the theatre where arrangements will be made for the season." [6] Vital Beaugenou and Sylvanus Parmele, the only "musicians" listed in Paxton's 1821 St. Louis Directory, apparently had the field quite to themselves.

With "Hymn Books" advertised for sale in 1808,[7] and "a Pianoforte" in 1810,[8] the arrival in 1818 of A. C. Van Hirtum, [9] "late from Amsterdam, Organ Factor and Professor of Music on the Pianoforte" was probably opportune. We know not whether the gentleman prospered, although he subsequently offered instruction in Clarionet and Composition and also tuned pianos. Shortly after Van Hirtum's arrival, Madame Perdreauville opened an Academy for young ladies, giving lessons in Music, vocal and instrumental.[10] Instruction in Vocal Music was proposed by S. Willson in 1819,[11] and by Allen D. Carden in 1820.[12]

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[3] See also Billon *Annals of St. Louis in Its Territorial Days, page 78.*

[4] Billon *Annals, page 74.*

[5] *Billon, page 75.*

[6] *Missouri Gazette, January 27, 1819.*

[7] *Missouri Gazette, November 30, 1808.*

[8] *Missouri Gazette, June 30, 1810.*

[9] *Missouri Gazette, January 16, 1818.* See also January 23, 1818; May 29, 1818.

[10] *Missouri Gazette, September 18, 1818.* Repeated September 25, October 2 and 9.

[11] *Missouri Gazette, October 27, 1819.*

[12] *Missouri Gazette, May 31, 1820.* Repeated June 7.

Curiously enough, the earliest attempt at music publication took the shape of a Collection of Psalm Tunes. Although Carden's "Missouri Harmony" was printed in Cincinnati, it was probably compiled in Missouri. The title reads:

> The Missouri Harmony, or a Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns and Anthems, Selected from the Most Eminent Authors, and Well Adapted to all Christian Churces, Singing Schools, and Private Societies, together with An Introduction to Grounds of Music, the Rudiments of music, and plain Rules for Beginners.
>
> By Allen D. Carden, St. Louis. Published by the Compiler. Morgan, Lodge & Co., Cincinnati, 1820.
>
> (Boards, Oblong 12mo. pp. 200).[13]

Carden may have prepared this work expressly for use in his "School for teaching the theory and practice of Vocal Music" which he formally announced in the *Missouri Gazette* of May 31 and June 7, 1820. At any rate, the same issues of the *Missouri Gazette* contain an advertisement of "Vocal Music Books. The Missouri Harmony, just published and for sale at the bookstore of Mr. Thomas (E)ssex." This book must have been very useful, for editions are extant printed in 1827, 1835, 1838, and a revised one in 1850.

Of secular music, either composed or published at this early date, the records are silent, although the *Missouri Gazette* of July 12, 1820, mentions a "Missouri Bugle Quickstep" in the list of music performed at the Fourth of July celebration at St. Louis that year.

SECTION II—THE PIONEERS

When Court Councilor Weber[14] of Coblenz arrived in St. Louis, the thirteenth of July, 1834, the cause of music

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[13] Title furnished through the courtesy of Mr. William Clark Breckenridge. Although this book is not listed in Metcalf's *American Psalmody* (New York 1917), the Library of Congress has copies of the editions of 1835 and 1850. The Warrington Memorial Library at Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, has notes indicating the publication of editions in 1827 and 1838.

[14] Most of the statements pertaining to Weber and his family, including Charles Balmer, are based on original documentary material in the extensive and historically valuable collection of Mrs. Rosalie Balmer Smith, granddaughter of Johann Heinrich Weber, daughter of Charles Balmer, and daughter-in-law of Sol Smith, the actor.

received a reinforcement of incalculable value. Johann Heinrich Weber was a scholar and a musician of superior attainment. He brought with him a musical library which was particularly rich in the Sacred Choral Works of the great classical masters, Johann Sebastian Bach, C. P. E, Bach, Beethoven, Durante, Gluck, Graun, Handel, Haydn. Jomelli, Kuhnau, Marello, Mozart, Naue, Naumann, Palestrina, Pergolese, Stadler, and Zelter, many of whose compositions he had in full orchestral scores. He placed this library at the disposal of the early choral organizations, which assured St. Louis music lovers an early acquaintance with the choral masterpieces of the age. It is just possible that Weber's proposal to found a "Musical Academy" led to the organization of the St. Louis Sacred Music Society, which, according to the Directory of 1840–41, met every Friday at Concert Hall[15]. Although Weber, in his "Musical Academy" announcement, styles himself a composer, none of his compositions seem to have been preserved. He is credited with the composition of several Songs, Masses and Organ Offertories[16]. In later years he won the grateful admiration of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow by his masterly translation into German of "The Courtship of Miles Standish." This work was published at St. Louis by Eduard Buehler in 1859.

Weber's family was extremely musical, his daughter Therese being a singer as well as a skillful pianist, his son C. Gottwalt, a double bass player, and C. Heinrich, a 'cellist. The Webers were not long in discovering the equally talented family of Simon Philipson, formerly of Philadelphia, but residents of St. Louis since 1822[17]. The noted English traveller, Sir William George Drummond Stewart[18], who visited St. Louis in the early '30's, declared Amanda Philipson and her

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[15] With C. Webb as Choral Conductor and Charles Balmer as Instrumental Conductor. The first Concert of this organization was given at Concert Hall, December 9, 1840.

[16] *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis, Volume I, page 73,* states that "on his deathbed he composed his own funeral hymn."

[17] See Billon *Annals of St. Louis in Its Territorial Days, page 228.*

[18] Author of *Altowan, Incidents of Life and Adventure in the Rocky Mountains,*

brother Louis to be "extraordinary pianists"[19]. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Louis Philipson was the composer of "La Straniera Cotillions" and "Signor Gambati's Trumpet Solo from Otello, arranged for Piano," both published by Joseph F. Atwill of New York and preserved in a bound volume of Amanda's piano pieces[20].

On October 26, 1834, Bishop Joseph Rosati consecrated the new stone Cathedral at St. Louis. As organist he appointed Joseph F. Marallano, an amateur musician, who until business failed was a Cuban coffee grower. To quote Judge Primm[21], Marallano "was not a skillful performer either on the organ or the piano, but he had taste, and was a master of counterpoint. He composed a Mass, partly original, partly plagiarized. . . . It contains in some parts some very fine harmonies and melodies; he composed besides some other short pieces for special solemnities, but none of the productions outlived his presidency over the Cathedral organ, save in the memory of those who knew he was fond of music." Marallano was listed as Cathedral Organist and as Music Teacher in the St. Louis Directory of 1838–39.

With the coming of William Robyn in 1837, St. Louis gained a citizen who was to have a far-reaching effect on her musical future. Young Robyn, fresh from Germany, found a congenial soul in the person of Wilson Primm, conservator of the good old French traditions and an enthusiastic musical amateur, albeit President of the Board of Aldermen. Robyn became Teacher of Music at the Jesuit College, his first professional duty being the training of the students in the use of a lot of fine wind instruments which the Brothers had brought over from Belgium. This student organization became known as the St. Louis Brass Band and was probably identical with the St. Louis German Brass Band which participated in the Opening of Concert Hall, Monday Evening, December 30, 1839. Another pioneer organization, The

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New York, Harpers, 1846. and *Edward Warren*, London, G. Walker, 1854.

[19] *Edward Warren, page 482.* Louis was drowned at Lewis' Fork in 1836, while on a trip with Sir Stewart.

[20] In the Collection of Mrs. Smith.

[21] *Missouri Historical Society Collections, Volume IV, page 152, footnote.*

Missouri Musical Fund Association, also assisted at this "Musical Fete." The leader of this, our first orchestra, was William George Wells, who added solo dancing to his musical accomplishments. Martinez, the famous Spanish guitar virtuoso, in a letter to Sol Smith, the actor, declared "the Musical Missouri Fund Society" to be a "very handsome orchestra[22]". Being a handsome orchestra[23] did not save it from an early demise, for in 1845 steps had to be taken to organize another association which was called the St. Louis Musical Society Polyhymnia. William Robyn was elected conductor of this orchestra and made it the center of musical activity during the ten or more years of its existence. Robyn was not a very prolific composer. A "Grand March" for Brass Band was performed at a Concert given by the flute virtuosc, Leopold Carriere, in Concert Hall, January 4, 1840. Several songs and short piano pieces were published in the monthly numbers of *Polyhymnia*, a musical anthology issued by Robyn and his brother Henry, in 1851. A very interesting manuscript Trio for Violin, 'Cello and Piano is preserved in the Library of the Missouri Historical Society. This fine composition is really a Suite of Valses, very melodious, but harmonized with the unaffected simplicity characteristic of its period.

In 1839, Madame Caradori-Allan, the celebrated singer, n the course of an extended concert tour visited St. Louis, bringing with her as accompanist, Charles Balmer, late of Muehlhausen, Germany. A visit to his parents, who had been residents of St. Louis since 1836, probably determined him to stay here, for he soon established himself as music teacher. It did not take him long to discover an irresistible reason for staying in St. Louis, for within a year he made Theiese Weber his wife. In 1846, Balmer founded the St. Louis Oratorio Society which he conducted until the dissolution

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[22] Autograph Letter, dated St. Louis, March 2, 1839, in tne Collection of Mrs. Smitn.

[23] According to the City Directory of 1838–9, the President of the Missouri Musical Fund Society was City Surveyor Rene Paul, and the Secretary, Henry F. Flagg.

of that organization. In June 1848[24], in partnership with his brother-in-law, C. Henry Weber, he opened a modest music store which was destined to become the largest music publishing house in the West. Barely ten years earlier, Nathaniel Phillips, umbrella maker, had decided to sell sheet music as well as umbrellas. Not only this, but he turned publisher. The earliest dated piece of music with a St. Louis imprint is the "St. Louis Grand March, composed and respectfully dedicated to the St. Louis Greys, by G. H. Draper" and copyrighted in the year 1839 by N. Phillips[25]. Phillips continued publishing until 1851, at which point Balmer & Weber seem to have acquired his catalogue.

Charles Balmer was a thorough musician and a facile composer. He wrote several hundred piano pieces as well as numerous songs. The exigencies of the publishing business rendered advisable the concealment of his authorship, which was accomplished by writing under a *nom de plume.* The pseudonyms most used were "Henry Werner," "August Schumann," "Charles Lange," "T. van Berg," "Alphonse Leduc," "T. Meyer," "Charles Remlab," and "F. B. Rider." Balmer's first composition seems to have been the "St. Louis Firemen's Parade March, performed for the first time by the German Brass Band, May 3, 1842," and copyrighted November 7, 1842. Other early piano pieces are the "St. Louis Serenading Waltz," "Bavarian Schottische," "Grand Texian March," "I ll Roam The Dewy Bowers Variations," and "Cahokia Polka." Typical early songs are "Spirit Dove," "Star I Love," "Child of The Angel Wing," and "Light of Thy Dark Eyes." Under the *nom de plume* "Henry Werner" he published several Civil War songs including "Sherman's March To The Sea," "Song Of The Soldier's Bride," and the arrangements "Bonnie Flag With The Stars And Stripes" and

[24] Advertisement announcing opening of store in *Anzeiger des Westens, Sunday, June 3, 1848.* Family tradition claims 1846 as year of opening, but City Directories list no store prior to 1848.

[25] In the opinion of Mr. Phillip Steiner, St. Louis' veteran music engraver, the plates of this composition were not engraved in St. Louis, but probably came from Cincinnati. Recopyrighted in 1851, it was ultimately published by Balmer & Weber. Their edition of 1874 bears the caption "First Piece of Music published WEST of the Mississippi."

"Mother, Is The Battle Over?" During his forty-six years of service as organist at Christ Church, Balmer had occasion to write much music for the Episcopal service. His published choral compositions include a "Jubilate Deo in B flat," a Christmas Anthem, "Unto Us A Child Is Born," and the Anthem "Christ The Lord Is Risen Today." He is also credited with the composition of several organ pieces[26].

PART TWO

(Prior to 1870)

SECTION III—EARLY PIANO COMPOSERS[1]

Before the Civil War, a number of publishers sprang into existence in St. Louis. Besides Nathaniel Phillips and Balmer & Weber, there were John Gass, James Phillips, J. Ballhouse, J. W. Postlewaite, Charles Fritz H, Pilcher & Sons, Henry P. Sherburne, William H. Harlow, Jacob Endres, and Richard Compton. While most of these publishers enjoyed but a brief lease on life, eventually selling out to some healthier competitor, the total production of printed music was very large. The taste of the period was reflected in the large quantity of light dance music which was issued. Innumerable Polkas, Schottisches, Galops, Waltzes, Mazurkas, Redowas, Quadrilles and Cotillions, Marches and Quicksteps, flooded the market.

Several Schottisches, "Electric" and otherwise, some Marches, Polkas, Waltzes, and Galops formed August Waldauer's contribution to musical literature. Waldauer came to St. Louis in 1844 and plunged immediately into an industrious activity. In the course of his long career he was for twenty years Director of the Beethoven Conservatory, was Conductor of the St. Louis Philharmonic Society during its Seventh

[26] For further biographical data see article on Charles Balmer in *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis, Volume 1, page 72.*

[1] Valuable sources of information for this and the following sections were the *Complete Catalogue of Sheet Music and Musical Works*, published by the Board of Music Trade of the U. S. A. in 1870, an unbelieveably scarce *Catalogue of Sheet Music, Published by Balmer & Weber (209 N. 4th St.)*, and collections of Music in the Library of the Missouri Historical Society and in the library of the author.

Season 1866–67, and was Conductor of the St. Louis Musical Union for the eight seasons of its existence, 1881–90. Waldauer, who was a violinist, was a member of Jenny Lind's concert troupe during part of her American tour in 1851. Bernard August Bode, St. Louis' most celebrated pianist and teacher until his death in 1871, was a very refined, if somewhat reserved, composer. He wrote several piano pieces in dance form, as well as a charming Nocturne "Les Adieux'.' Hermann Strachauer, a pupil of Bode's, composed three very interesting Sonatas, which with his "Spring Threnody" was published in Boston. The dance forms were cultivated quite assiduously by C. Henry Weber, son of Johann Heinrich, and by Henry Robyn, brother of William Robyn.

To have written a piano piece in 1867, which in 1922 retained sufficient popularity to justify its inclusion in the catalogues of G. Schirmer, Oliver Ditson, and Theodore Presser, would seem to be quite an achievement. Henry Bollman's charming composition "Convent Bells" has outlived its creator and promises to be a favorite for years to come. Bollman came to St. Louis in 1847 when only twenty-four years of age. Save for a short absence during the Civil War, he was actively identified with music in St. Louis until his death in 1890. He was a very talented and prolific writer of piano music, his compositions enjoying a widespread popularity. Almost as successful, at the time, were the compositions of T. M. Brown, one-time piano teacher at Bonham's Seminary (1859–60). Departing from the prevailing dance tendency, Brown composed a number of brilliant Variations on popular melodies and wrote a fine "Impromptu on Strauss' Anen Polka."

Much good music, written however in conformity to the popular taste, was put forth by such musicians as Louis Freligh, Benjamin Owen, A. Willhartitz, Edouard Nennstiel, and Jacques Ernest Miquel. A score or more, probable Missouri composers, clamor for recognition at this point. At the risk of overlooking some favorite son or daughter of our great commonwealth, we will content ourselves with merely mentioning Anthony Weidner, James Schobe, Frank

Beler, R. F. Cardella, Navo, J. Schollmeyer, Charles Pollock, A. C. Wondell, Mrs. A. Strother, G. H. Draper, Frederick W. Henzel, Nicholas Lebrun, J. W. Postlewaite, and F. Pannell (of Louisiana, Mo.).

SECTION IV—EARLY SONG WRITERS

Typical songs of local origin were doubtless interpolated in the English Ballad Operas which were produced in St. Louis by theatrical troupes as early as 1820.[2] The custom of producing at least two plays in one evening made necessary the introduction of music, usually vocal, to tide over the interval between the two pieces. When an exhaustive study of the "Drama in St. Louis" is made, more detailed data on this point will come to light. The first recorded performance of a song by a local composer occurred Monday, February 4, 1839. "Washington And Liberty, a National Song, composed by Mr. E. Sheppard" formed the last number of a Concert given at the National Hotel by Sheppard, assisted by Madame Brichta, Miss Therese Weber, Senor Martinez, and Mr. Seidensticker.

Although Missouri's first music publisher, Nathaniel Phillips, put forth songs as well as piano pieces, no dated song seems to be extant which would antedate the "St. Louis Grand March" (1839). Aside from several undated reprints, Phillips published "Mary Blane, arranged by Nelson Kneass," in 1847, and James Schobe's "Worth Of Time," as well as "The Egyptian Girl's Song" by E. C. Davis, in 1850. In 1851, C. Gottwalt Weber, son of old Johann Heinrich, issued his first publication, an arrangement of "The Peasant Girl's Lament." He does not seem to have done much original work, his brother Henry evidently inheriting the senior Weber's talent for composition. At that, Henry was not a very prolific song writer. August Waldauer seems to have

[2] *The Missouri Gazette, December 20, 1820,* announces at the Theatre "this evening, Comedy, *Dramatist, or Stop him who can;* Farce, *Purse, or Benevolent Tar,*" the last probably by Cross, with the music by William Reeve. See also Sonneck *Early Opera in America* (New York, 1915), for early American performances of this and other Ballad Operas.

shone as a writer of sentimental ditties. A few titles selected at random, tell the tale: "I Love But Thee," "Two Hearts That Beat As One," "Too Fondly I Loved Thee," and (sad ending) "My Dream Of Love Is O'er." 'Twas a sentimental age and all song writers were affected alike, even men of the calibre of Henry Robyn, Louis H. Freligh, A. Willhartitz, Henry Bollman, T. M. Brown and R. Frank Cardella.

The songs of Strachauer, the classicist, seem to have aspired to higher artistic levels. The titles of not a few are terse and to the point: "Rose," "Hope," "Tear," "Regret." Benjamin Owen cultivated the churchly song, several of his compositions being adaptations of classical melodies to sacred words. Henry Bollman composed for the Catholic service, his religious songs including an "Ave Maria," an "Ave Verum," and two settings of "O Salutaris." Edward Sobolewski, the genial Conductor of the Philharmonic Society, was a most gifted writer of songs of real artistic value. Many of his songs seem to have been composed in St. Louis, a point of obvious interest, for most of his creative work was done in Europe. The concerts of the Philharmonic were the means of presenting to the public several very ambitious compositions by Emile Karst. On October 22, 1863 was performed "Goethe's May Song" in the form of an "Introduction and Concert Waltz for Soprano." "The Whippoorwill" an Aria for Alto figured on the program of April 21, 1864, and "Soave Immagine D'Amor" for Soprano was featured November 28, 1867 and again November 3, 1870. Although Karst wrote many secular songs he excelled as a composer of songs for the Catholic service.

A very valuable pedagogical work was prepared by Henry Robyn, in his capacity as Teacher of Music in the St. Louis Normal, High and Grammar Schools. "The Singer's Handbook, a Systematical Course of Instruction in the Art of Singing" was published in Three Books by C. Witter in 1872. This excellent series of Public School song books contained several hundred simple exercises and a carefully selected series of One, Two, and Three Part Songs. "The Classical Singer," a collection selected from the great composers and

arranged for three voices, formed the fourth book of Robyn's course of study.

SECTION V—EARLY CHORAL AND ORCHESTRAL COMPOSERS

In Johann Heinrich Weber's Diary,[3] under date of September 26, 1850, is the entry "Konzert der Polyhymnia—La Chaisse Overture—Symphonie—Miquel." [4] As Balmer & Weber published several compositions by J. E. Miquel about 1850, it is just barely possible that the Overture or the Symphony, or both, were of Miquel's composition. On the other hand it must be noted that at the time of Jenny Lind's visit to St. Louis in 1851, Jacques Ernest Miquel was conductor "by courtesy" of the Polyhymnia Orchestra,[5] and it may be that Weber's diary refers to this fact. Miquel is credited with the composition of an Opera "Clemence, ou, Les Eaux de la Malou" in Towers' *Dictionary of Operas*.

Weber's son, C. Heinrich, usually referred to as Henry Weber, seems to have composed an Opera on the subject of Joan of Arc. The "Introduction" and "Scena for Male Chorus" from this Opera were performed at a concert of the Philharmonic Society on January 5, 1865. The "Coronation March" was performed by the same organization April 24, 1862. As the material in the library of the Philharmonic calls for Solo, Chorus, and Orchestra, we may assume that the excerpt from "Joan of Arc" was produced in this form. The "Coronation March" was published by Balmer & Weber in a piano arrangement by "Heinrich von Sturmeck," Weber's occasional *nom de plume*. An orchestral Overture by Weber to Theodore Koerner's drama "Die Braut" (The Bride), seems to have been performed April 1, 1863, probably at the Deutsches Stadt Theater in St. Louis. The playbill of that date announces that "Die Overture ist besonders fur diese Gelegenheit componirt von Heinrich von Sturmeck." Weber's rather unusual Quartette "The Watchman" for Soprano,

[3] In the Collection of Mrs. Smith.

[4] Miquel's name is included tentatively. He was probably a travelling virtuoso.

[5] See "Jenny Lind in St. Louis" by Theophile Papin, in *Music, Volume 19, page 31.*

Tenor, Bass, and Violin, was performed at a Philharmonic concert, January 14, 1869.

The founders of the Philharmonic Society, a choral and orchestral organization at St. Louis, engaged as its first conductor Edward de Sobolew—Sobolewski, a very remarkable musician. Born at Koenigsberg, October 1, 1808, he studied with Carl Zelter, the teacher of Mendelssohn, and later with Carl Maria von Weber. He counted Felix Mendelssohn and Robert Schuman among his personal friends, and had Richard Wagner as his associate at the Koenigsberg Opera House. About 1859 he came to America to serve as Conductor of the Milwaukee Musik Verein. It was while director of this organization that he composed and produced his Opera "Mohega, The Flower Of The Forest." He was called to St. Louis in 1860, conducting his first concert October 18, 1860. He served six seasons, his last concert being April 19, 1866. He died at St. Louis, May 17, 1872.[6] His Opera "Comala" was produced by Franz Liszt at Weimar in 1858. Three earlier Operas had been produced at Koenigsberg; "Imogen" in 1833, "Velleda, the Enchantress of the Brocken," 1836, and "Salvator Rosa," 1848. In addition to these he composed five other Operas, "Thomas," "Ziska of Kelch," "The Prophet of Khorassan, or Lalla Rookh," "The Iron Collar," "A Song As Betrayer." He composed two Symphonies, one of which "South and North" was produced by the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra. His two Symphonic Poems "Vineta" and "Sea Phantasie," were produced by Liszt at Weimar. Sobolewski did not produce any of his orchestral compositions while Conductor of the Philharmonic. His Overture to Klopstock's "Tialf" was played by this orchestra April 23, 1868, Egmont Froelich conducting. Sobolewski's choral compositions were produced quite frequently at the Philharmonic concerts, notably "Evenings in Greece," "Oh, Fly With Me," "Take Hence the Bowl," "Summer Songs," "Caravan Song," "When Love Is Kind,"

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[6] See also Mendel *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexicon, Volume 9, page 285*; Riemann *Musik Lexicon (6th ed.), page 1243*; Baker's *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians (3rd ed.), page 886*; *Impressario, June, 1872, page 4.*

"Welcome Sweet Bird," "Cupid's Lottery." Three Oratorios "John the Baptist," "The Saviour," and "Heaven and Earth," several Cantatas with orchestra, a Trio "Jesu Sanctissime," and many Male Choruses round out Sobolewki's activity as a composer.

This account of early music in the larger forms would be incomplete without mention of Benjamin Owen's "Ave Maria" for Solo and Chorus, which was sung at a concert of the Philharmonic in February, 1868. Owen's choral works include a "Sancta Maria" for three voices, "Softly Now The Light Of Day" for mixed chorus, and "In Memoriam" for male voices. Strachauer's choral compositions also deserve notice, particularly "The Lord Is My Shepherd," "The Lord's Prayer," "She Comes No More To Meet Me" and "Song Of The Silent Land." Emile Karst's Canata "Hiawatha," for eight solo voices, chorus, and orchestra, was produced at St. Louis several times in the year 1860. Karst wrote many choral compositions for the Catholic service, one of the finest of which, a "Mass" was performed at St. Patrick's, Washington, D. C., as recently as 1914. A most prolific writer of Catholic Choral Music was Henry Bollman. His works include four Masses and twenty-five settings of various portions of the Catholic ritual.

PART THREE [1]

SECTION VI—LATER PIANO COMPOSERS

Faithful to the traditions of an earlier period, many composers of the later half of the nineteenth century restricted their efforts to the fabrication of Polkas, Schottisches, Galops, and sentimental Reveries. In this category we may place such writers as Charles Gimbel, Emil Hahn, J. A. Kieselhorst, J. J. Voelmecke, Charles Schillinger, I. D. Foulon, Wm. G. Merkel, Jacob Lenzen, Dr. E. Voeister, W. C. D. Boetefuehr, and even such musicians as James North, P. G. Anton (Sr.),

[1] The term "Later Composers" in this Third Part is intended to include all composers whose period of greatest activity fell within the years 1870 to about 1920, but excluding all living composers who are still active. These will be treated in Part Four under "Contemporary Composers."

and Michael Angelo Gilsinn. The musically shallow pieces of Charles Drumheller still enjoy a more or less local vogue. Particularly popular are the "Concert Waltz," "On the Lake by Moonlight," "Banjo Twang," "Grand Imperial March," "Moonlight on the Mississippi" and "Bridal Bells." The gifted pianist, Jacob Kunkel, wrote several successful piano pieces, typical compositions being "Heather Bells Polka," "Zephyr and the Brook," "Rippling Waves," and the "Germans' Triumphal March." The eminent theorist, Waldemar Malmene, won First Prize for a Piano Composition in a Competition instituted by the American Conservatory of Music of New York in 1872. Particularly noteworthy among subsequent compositions is his "La Zingara." Richard S. Poppen wrote many effective piano pieces, of more than ordinary interest being the "Dance of the Gnomes," "Impromptu," and the "Grand Vlase Brillante."

That wandering cosmopolite, Robert Goldbeck, was a most prolific writer of piano music. His "Second Concerto" for Piano and Orchestra was performed May 22, 1885, the occasion being a "Farewell Concert" given to celebrate his departure from St. Louis, where he had resided since 1873. He subsequently performed this "Concerto" in New York City and elsewhere. No record of a public performance of the "First Concerto" has been noticed. According to Bremer's *Handlexikon der Musik*,[2] Goldbeck composed five Symphonic Pieces for Piano and Orchestra, which were repeatedly performed by the Philharmonic Societies of New York and Brooklyn. A "Scene de Chasse," evidently one of the Symphonic Pieces, was performed at the "Farewell Concert" of 1885, by Mrs. Robert Goldbeck with Orchestra. Among Goldbeck's innumerable piano pieces may be mentioned the set of "Sixteen Compositions, dedicated to Franz Liszt," including the "Grande Polonaise de Concert, Minerva." Typical of his very individual piano style are such pieces as the "Tourbillon Valse," "Dreaming by the Brook," "Dream Bells," "Valse Arabesque," "Ring On, Wild Bells," "Mem-

[2] See Jones *Handbook of American Music and Musicians (Canaseraga, N. Y., 1886), page 65.*

ories," "Pleading," "Idylle," "Dream of the Lily," "On the Bay," "La Amazone Mazurka," and "La Danse des Dryades." He wrote many Concert Etudes, among them the "Cavalcade Etude" and "La Vibrante." He made effective concert arrangements of Leopold de Meyer's "Cricket," Carl Tausig's "Nocturne," Liszt's "Rhapsodie Hongroise, No. 13," Thalberg's "Nocturne in A flat," Raff's "L'Arpa," Delibes' "Sylvia," the "Nocturne" from Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream," and of "Dixie." His "Graduating Courses for Piano" published serially in *Goldbeck's Musical Instructor* and *Goldbeck's Musical Art*, contain a wealth of valuable pedagogical material. In addition to these he wrote volumes of "General Piano Technics," "Primary Piano Technics," and a "Primary Piano Method."

Many charming piano pieces were written by that genial musician, Paul Mori. Two Valses, two Mazurkas, a "Polonaise in C sharp minor," a "Menuet," a "Sonatina," a "Fantasie Berceuse," and an "Andante con Variozini" comprise his works in conventional forms. In a lighter vein are the "Princess Zora," "La Graziosa," "The Flatterer," "Gondoliera." A notable "Funeral March, In Memory of the 'Maine,' " and a "Grand Triumphal March" deserve particular mention. A very popular and effective transcription of the "Sextette from Lucia," a paraphrase of the "Lost Chord," and many teaching pieces conclude Mori's work for piano. Alfred Ernst, Conductor of the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra from 1894 to 1907, was a very talented pianist and a gifted composer. His piano compositions embrace a "Festival March," a "Valse Caprice," "La Gazelle," "Gondoliera," "Menuet," and a "Sonnett Musical." His successor, Max Zach, wrote a "Gavotte" and several interesting teaching pieces. William Schuyler, educator, writer, and talented composer, wrote about fifty piano pieces, "An Idyl of Spring" and "A Memory" being of particular musical value. Edward Franklin Kreiser and Solomon Lichtenstein have each written many charming *Morceau de Genre.*

Most gifted of Missouri's daughters, Jessie Lovel Gaynor, has wrought with infinite care a series of juvenile works for

the piano which have made her name known the length and breadth of the land. Two volumes of "Miniature Melodies," "Miniature Duets," "Melody Pictures for Little Players," and "Finger Plays" are Mrs. Gaynor's best known works. In addition to many delightful teaching pieces, Mrs. Gaynor has written a very successful book of "First Pedal Studies," as well as "A Method for the Piano for Little Children," and has composed the music to Susan H. Tillman's "Dances and Games for Children." That talented composer, Constance Owen Faunt Le Roy Runcie, wrote very little for the piano. An effective "Piano Sonata," and two short pieces, "Fragment" and "Andante" comprise Mrs. Runcie's output. Clara Louise Anderson composed a series of "Instrumental Characteristic Rhythms for Home, School, and Kindergarten" (1896) which were widely utilized in school work. Clara Beeson Hubbard's "Merry Songs and Games for the Use of the Kindergarten" (1881) deserve mention in this connection, and we would be derelict in our duty if we failed to notice C. J. Richter's music to Henriette Noa's "Plays for the Kindergarten, as Introduced in the Gymnastic Exercises of Mary Institute" (1873).

SECTION VII—LATER SONG WRITERS

When Rupert Hughes wrote his book on "Contemporary American Composers," he waxed eloquent over the songs of William Schuyler. Characterizing Schuyler's setting of five poems from Stephen Crane's "The Black Riders," as "the most original and important contribution to American music that St. Louis has made," he discovered in three of the songs an "epic vastitude" and in two, a "tantalizing mysticism." [3] At the time he credited Schuyler with the composition of one hundred and fifty songs. Aside from the "Black Riders." only three of these songs seem to have been published. They are "The Light Of The World," "In The Golden Fullness," and a fine setting of Charles Claflin Allen's poem "Now The Shadows Darken."

[3] See Hughes *Contemporary American Composers, page 415.*

Justly celebrated are the songs of Jessie L. Gaynor. Originally written for the use of children, these quaint and simple melodies have become universally popular. Mrs. Gaynor's genius was first revealed in her settings of "Songs of the Child World," of which three volumes are now published, the poems being by Mrs. Alice C. D. Riley. Subsequent books of Children Songs were the "Mother Goose Songs from 'The House That Jack Built,'" "Songs To Little Folks," "Lilts and Lyrics," "Playtime Songs," "Songs and Scissors," "Songs and Shadow Pictures for the Child World," "Sacred Songs for Little Children," "Sunday School Songs for Little Children." Perhaps the most popular of Mrs. Gaynor's Children Songs is "The Slumber Boat." Characteristic are the "Discontented Duckling," "Sugar Dolly," "The Flower's Cradle Song," and "Fireflies." Mrs. Gaynor has edited a charming collection of "Songs of a Grandmother." Her more mature art songs are published in the "Album of Seven Songs," "Five Love Songs," and the "Album of Rose Songs." Typical of her recital songs are "The Wind Went Wooing The Rose," "Come Down To The River Tonight," "And I," "The Riddle," and "Sweet Is Tipperary." Mrs. Gaynor has also written two sacred songs "The Birth and the Resurrection" and "The Star of Bethlehem."

A gifted writer of songs was Constance Owen Faunt Le Roy Runcie. A granddaughter of the celebrated Robert Owen, Mrs. Runcie was an able writer as well a musician.[4] Writing the lyrics of most of her songs, Mrs. Runcie was particularly happy in her settings of religious poems. Her published sacred songs include "Dove of Peace," "My Spirit Rests," "I Will Arise," "At Rest," "Intercessory Prayer." Of romantic appeal are the "Invocation To Love," "Whose Heart So Light," "Silence and the Sea," "Merry Life," "I Would Fly," "You Woke Me." An equally talented writer was Harriet Priscilla Sawyer. Of particular interest are her songs "She Walks In Beauty," "Sweet and Low," "Across The Dreary Sea," "Sighing Nature," "Only A Tear," "One

[4] See Mathews *A Hundred Years of Music in America, page 104.* Also Runcie *Divinely Led; or, Robert Owen's Grand-daughter, New York, 1895.*

Voice Alone," "Thou Art My Hope," and "Angels' Song In Silent Night." Among women composers of this period we may mention Toni Lieber and Edith Kingsley.

As a song writer, Robert Goldbeck was no less successful than as composer of piano music. His published songs include "The Splendor Falls On Castle Walls," "The Sea Hath Its Pearls," "You Know The Old Hidalgo," "Sleep Dearest Sleep," "Parting Song," "Invocation," "Those Evening Bells," and many others. A very popular composer of songs was James M. North, the very able vocal instructor. Characteristic products of his inspiration are "The Lake Is Still," "Sweet Vale of Neuchatel," "Welcome To Spring," "My Darling Dwells Over The Sea," and "Blue Violets." Typical sacred songs are "Come Unto Me," "Calvary," and "Jerusalem." Two exceedingly able song writers were Waldemar Malmene and P. G. Anton (Sr.). Fine Malmene songs are "Tubal Cain," "The Brook Song," and "The Merry Mill." Anton's setting of Harriet Spofford's "Nocturne" was sung with orchestral accompaniment by W. M. Porteous at a concert of the St. Louis Choral Society, March 6, 1890. Max Ballmann excelled as a writer of sacred songs, while Richard S. Poppen's lyrics were of a lighter nature. Reminiscent of the older school were the songs of Anton Roeslein, W. D. C. Boetefuehr, Engelbert Voerster, I. D. Foulon, Michael Angelo Gilsinn, Emil Hahn, and Herman Epstein. Sentimental ballads were written by Wayman McCreery and by Charles Humphrey. Songs in a more modern vein were composed by Alfred Ernst and by Edward F. Kreiser.

Valuable collections of songs for use in the Public Schools were prepared by Henry Martyn Butler. "Songs and Studies; a Rote and Note Song Book" (1905), "Popular and Classical Songs" (1908), and many songs in Loomis' "Progressive Music Books" comprise Butler's compositions for juvenile singers. He also wrote a "Primrose Song," a "Flag Song" and an excellent State Song "O Peerless Missouri."

Pedagogically valuable are the many excellent studies for vocal students prepared by James M. North. They include "A Practical Method in the Art of Singing" (1891), "Vocal

Exercises," "38 Progressive Vocalises," "36 New Vocalises for Beginners," and "35 New Vocalises for Advanced Students." Robert Goldbeck's "Graduating Course in Voice" was published serially in *Goldbeck's Musical Instructor* and *Goldbeck's Musical Art*, and he also published a "Vocal Method."

Before closing we must mention several excellent songs for the Catholic service. Lawrence Kotthoff, Richard S. Poppen, and Anton Roeslein each wrote an "Ave Maria," Roeslin also composed an "Ave Sanctissima," and an "Ave Regina" and two settings of "Veni Creator" conclude Kotthoff's contribution.

SECTION VIII—LATER CHORAL COMPOSERS

That the choral music of the second half of the nineteenth century was predominately religious in character was in part due to the fact that most of the composers held church positions[5]. This was particularly true of the Catholic contingent. For over twenty years Michael Angelo Gilsinn was organist at St. Francis Xavier's Church in St. Louis, during which period he had ample opportunity to compose and produce choral music. His choral works for the Catholic service include a "First Mass," "Venite Adoremus," "Tantum Ergo," "Sub Tuum," "Angeli et Archangeli," "Jesu Dulcis," and "Tota Pulchra." He revised Pacini's "Missa Solemnis," Cimarosa's "Messe Militaire," and the "Grand Italian Mass and Vespers." A "Mass in C" and a "Tantum Ergo" were written by James M. North, and Lawrence Kotthoff composed not only a "Tantum Ergo" but also an "O Salutaris" and "Ecce Sacredos." Settings of "Asperges Me Domine" were made by Richard S. Poppen, and by Anton Roeslein, the latter also composing a "Regina Coeli," "Sub Tuum Praesidium," and "Nolite Timere."

[5] As no provision has been made for the Organ music of these "Later" church composers, the same will be listed here. As far as known, the pieces are "Zion March" by Mrs. Runcie, "Elegie Militaire" by W. Malmene, "Storm at Sea" and "Sicilian Vespers" by A. J. Creswold, and "Cradle Song" and "Concert Caprice" by E. F. Kreiser.

A virile composer of music for the Episcopal service was Paul Mori. His sacred choral works include a "Festival Te Deum in E flat," a "Festival Communion Service in D flat," a "Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis," a setting of the "Twenty-Third Psalm," a "Christmas Cantata," an "Easter Cantata," and a "Motette—Come Unto Me." James M. North's choral compositions include a "Te Deum in C," a "Christmas Anthem," a setting of "Nearer My God To Thee," "In Thee O Lord Do I Put My Trust," "My Soul Doth Magnify The Lord," "O Lord Have Mercy We Pray," "One Sweetly Solemn Thought," "Come Unto Me," "With Christ We'll Walk The Wayside," and "Trust." A "Te Deum Laudamus" was written by Wayman C. McCreery, and Richard S. Poppen made settings of "O Lamb Of God," "The Lord Is My Shepherd," and the "Decalogus." Waldemar Malmene won a Prize in 1872 for an "Anthem" which was frequently performed at Christ Church in St. Louis. Mrs. Constance Runcie wrote a "Te Deum," an "Easter Carol," two "Christmas Carols," many Hymns, and several Sacred Quartetts. A "Christmas Carol" and a "Hymn for Women's Voices" were put forth by Mrs. Gaynor, and Robert Goldbeck composed "My Faith Looks Up To Thee." Mrs. Kate J. Brainard and Waldemar Malmene collaborated in the production of "The New Treasure; a Collection of Hymns and Chants" (1871), many of which were originally composed for this book. James M. North compiled a "Sunday School Song Book," and in collaboration with N. Coe Stewart compiled the "Singing Books"—"Kingdom of Song," "Crown King," and the "Singing School Echo"—all of which contained many original sacred choruses. Before leaving the field of sacred music we must note the fact that F. S. Saeger wrote many Hymns for the Christian Saengerbund, and Richard S. Poppen composed music for the Jewish divine service.

On May 28, 1879, a Thomas Moore Centenary celebration took place at De Bar's Opera House in St. Louis. The feature of this festive occasion was an ambitious choral work by Michael Angelo Gilsinn which was presented by a chorus

of two hundred voices with orchestral accompaniment. The two parts of this grandiose composition were entitled, respectively, "A Centennial Ode to Thomas Moore" and "The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan." Another pretentious work of Gilsinn's was the Symphony Cantata "May Morning." A short Cantata "A Song of Peace" by Irenaeus D. Foulon was performed at St. Louis, March 27, 1884, and January 29, 1885. Goldbeck's Cantata "The Song of the Brave Man" does not seem to have had a local performance.

A most felicitous writer of choral music, Robert Goldbeck composed many charming pieces for mixed voices. "Sunset," "Oh, How Can I E'er Forget Thee?" "The Princess and the Gardener," "Spring Is Coming," "Morning," are some of his best known numbers. James M. North, Richard S. Poppen, and Waldemar Malmene have each written interesting mixed choruses. For Female Voices we have several arrangements of songs by Mrs. Gaynor, notably "Slumber Boat," "Only A Rose," and "Mother Love." An "Autumn Song" and "Evening" by Robert Goldbeck, "Invocation to Spring" by Waldemar Malmene, and "Ding Dong Bell" by James M. North are all charming pieces for women's voices.

At a concert in 1902, the St. Louis Apollo Club scored a memorable triumph by their rendition of "Evening Bells," a remarkable arrangement for male voices of the "Sextette from Lucia," which had been prepared by Paul Mori. A no less popular number was "The Three Fishers" by Robert Goldbeck, which, twenty years ago, was in the repertoire of most male choral organizations. Goldbeck's pieces for male voices include "Excelsior," "Dreaming," "Break, Break, Break," "Sands O'Dee," and "Wood Nymphs." Short compositions for male voices have been written by Waldemar Malmene, Richard S. Poppen, and Engelbert Voerster. Typical compositions for the German Male Chorus (*Maennerchor*) were written by Waldemar Malmene, Carl Richter, Carl Schillinger, Egmont Froelich, and Jacob Lenzen.

SECTION IX—LATER OPERA COMPOSERS

On May 16, 1881, at the Olympic Theater in St. Louis, was presented for the first time the "New Satirical Comic Opera"—"L'Afrique; or, The Tale of a Dark Continent." The libretto was by William Schuyler, the music by Wayman C. McCreery[6], amateur musician and "three-cushion" billiards expert. The cast was composed of local singers, the musical director was Alfred G. Robyn. It ran for one week. The following January it was put on in New York, only to be severely mauled by the critics. August 21, 1882, it was put on for eight performances at the St. Louis Pickwick Theater, after which it went on the shelf. The life history of most local "operas" would read similarly.

Amateur singers produced two of Richard S. Poppen's operas, "Robin Hood" and the Romantic Comic Opera "Althea." "Althea" was also performed in San Francisco in 1890. Poppen's last Opera "Dona Diana" does not seem to have ever been produced. Paul Mori's Comic Opera "Entanglement" was put on the road by the Farnham Opera Company in 1895. "Fate's Lottery," another Opera, received a local performance at the Germania Turner Hall in 1893 and at the Liederkranz Hall in 1894. Mori's Grand Opera "Uarda" was never performed. "Tennessee," a Light Opera by Robert Edwards, ran a whole week at Schneider's Garden in 1894.

Although Robert Goldbeck wrote a number of Operas, he does not seem to have inflicted any of them on his St. Louis public. "The Soldier's Return," an early Operetta, was produced in London in 1856. In 1889, his Opera Comique "Newport" was performed in London. "The Commodore" and "Saratoga" do not seem to have been produced. "The Surprise, or Clara and Valentine, Opera Comique; by R. Goldbeck" was published in London by Wessel. As the libretto was printed at the same time, a performance may be taken for granted. A Song Comedy for Children "Music Fairy Land" was published in 1897.

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[6] See also Augustus Thomas *The Print of My Remembrance (New York, 1922), page 117.*

Mrs. Jessie L. Gaynor has written a number of exceedingly successful Operettas for children. "The House That Jack Built," and its sequel "The Lost Princess Bo-Peep," "The Toy Shop," "Snow White," "The Magic Wheel," "Three Wishes," "The Return of Proserpina," and "On Plymouth Rock" are all juvenile favorites. Not quite Operettas, the "Entertainments"—"The Posey Bed" and "Welcome Spring" —are unique in their style. Mrs. Gaynor's Romantic Operetta "Pierre, the Dreamer" is still in manuscript.

Mrs. Constance F. Runcie wrote the libretto and composed the music of her Romantic Operetta "The Prince of Asturia," a work full of delightful humor. It awaits but the "touch of an understanding and able producer to emerge into the radiance of a deserved popularity[7]?" Mae Ayres Sherrey wrote an Operetta "Dreamland Beauties" which was performed in and around St. Louis several times during 1898. Local performance was also accorded Michael Angelo Gilsinn's Operettas "The Three Crowns" and "Dorothea, the Roman Martyr." Emil Hahn is credited with the composition of an Operetta, the name of which is not recorded. Edward H. Bloeser is also credited with the composition of an Operetta entitled "Pocahontas," but of its performance nothing definite is known. Odd bits of book-making are the eight parts of "Watouska, or The White Lily" an Operetta by Madame F. Glyckherr Tanner, who also composed a Parlor Ballad Operetta entitled "Ethelena."

SECTION X—LATER CHAMBER MUSIC COMPOSERS

Memories of a period long past were revived by the appearance of compositions for the Flute by two local flute virtuosi. The Flute is no longer the "gentleman's instrument" it was many years ago. Its place has been usurped in the affections of the twentieth century "dandy" by the mandolin, to say nothing of the tinkling ukulele or the mournful saxophone. Nevertheless, J. A. Kieselhorst, not so very long ago, composed and published a Caprice de Concert for Flute and

[7] Quoted from data supplied by Ellinor Dale Runcie of St. Joseph, Mo.

Piano entitled "Anna, To Thee. "Another piece, "Babbling Brook," also for Flute and Piano, was put forth by Kiesehorst, while Robert Buechel published an "Exquisite Polka" for Flute alone. Of similar appeal was Laurent Brun's concert arrangement for Clarionet of the "Carnival of Venice." That veteran 'cellist, Louis Mayer (Sr.), was an able composer as well. Among his compositions are two excellent 'Cello solos, a "Theme and Variations" and a "Fantasiestueck." A "Serenade" and a "Spanish Dance—Guaracha" for Violoncello were written by P. G. Anton (Sr.) and first publicly performed by his son, the gifted 'cellist, P. G. Anton.

That very versatile composer, Mrs. Constance F. Runcie, wrote several charming pieces for Violin and Piano, among them "In the Twilight," "Night," and "Remembrance." She also composed a very ambitious "Concerto" for Violin and Orchestra. Harriet Priscilla Sawyer's contribution was restricted to several sets of easy teaching pieces, "Happy Jack Tunes for Little Fiddlers," "Little Tin Soldier Tunes," and a set of "Five Pieces" for Violin and Piano. Of educational value are the twenty-two easy pieces by R. Severin Sauter, issued under the title "Pleasures of Home." Guido Parisi published a valuable book of "Scales and Chords for Violin," and wrote several solos, among them a "Berceuse." A "Fantasie on the Tyrolese and his Child" by Paul Mori, and a "Serenade—My Jewel" by P. G. Anton (Sr.) will complete this list of Violin music by "Later Composers."

William Schuyler is credited with the composition of two short "Trios," presumably for Piano, Violin, and 'Cello. Robert Goldbeck composed several Trios for the same combination of instruments. His "Second Trio" was performed in New York City, December 11, 1885. Goldbeck also wrote a "Piano Quintet" and a "String Sextet." P. G. Anton (Sr.) is credited with the composition of several String Quartets and Quintets; a "String Quartet" of his being performed at a concert of the Mendelssohn Quintet Club, in February, 1888. Oscar Hatch Hawley wrote a "String Quartet in D minor," and Solomon Lichtenstein not only composed a "String Quartet," but he also made many arrangements for String

Quartet of piano pieces of Chopin, Grieg, and Schumann. Constance F. Runcie wrote some "Chamber Music," but for what combination of instruments the data at hand does not reveal.

SECTION XI—LATER ORCHESTRAL COMPOSERS

As a boy, a protege of the great naturalist, Alexander von Humbolt, as a youth, an artist equally at home in the highest musical circles of Paris and London, as a man, a restless genius ever seeking new worlds to conquer, Robert Goldbeck tarried on the west bank of the Mississippi just long enough to earn the title "Missourian." A gifted composer, Goldbeck's peculiar genius found fitting expression in his many compositions for Symphony Orchestra. The scores of some of these works were destroyed in the great Chicago fire of 1871, notably the score of his Symphony "Victoria." The St. Louis "Farewell" Concert of 1885 witnessed the production of two orchestral pieces, the Dramatic Poem "Leonore, after Burger" and the "Idylle." Several compositions were accorded a performance by the Thomas Orchestra, among them the "Mexican Dances," "Forest Devotion," and "Leaping Marionettes." These pieces were all performed in Chicago as well as in St. Louis. Tradition has it that some were performed by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. It is just possible that the "Elegie" was performed in New York, for no record of a local performance has been noted.

Poland's romantic, though stormy past inspired the composition of Anton's "First Symphony." Two movements of this "Symphony on the History of Poland" were performed at a concert of the St. Louis Musical Union in April, 1888. The complete work was given at an "Anton Concert," May 20, 1890. Among the several movements performed were a "Largo, In Memoriam—Kosciusko," a "Minuet, Danse de Nobles," and the "Finale—Souvenir de Pologna (introducing the Polish National Hymn)." Although Anton is credited with the composition of four Symphonies, no performance of the "Second," "Third," or "Fourth" has been noted. The "Minuet" from the "Second Symphony" was played at the before-mentioned "Anton Concert," and the same pro-

gram presented a "Galop" and a "March—Des Flambeaux." A "Torchlight Dance" was performed at a St. Louis Musical Union concert in February, 1887.

A Nordic legend, the tale of Bragi, "God of Song," and Iduna, "Goddess of Spring," fired the fancy of Alfred Ernst sufficiently to cause him to plan a Music Drama on that subject. He actually composed a "Prelude to Bragi and Iduna" which was played by the St. Louis Choral-Symphony Orchestra in 1902. The "Music Drama" seems to have remained a legend. As Conductor of the St. Louis Choral-Symphony Society, Ernst proved that he possessed that thorough knowledge of orchestral technic so essential to successful orchestral composition. He seems to have composed only one other piece, a "Homage a Terpsichore" which was performed by the Choral-Symphony Orchestra, January 31, 1895. Max Zach, Ernst's successor, wrote a number of pieces which became very popular and were often played at the "Sunday Pop Concerts" of the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra. A favorite number was the "Oriental March," while musical charm and orchestral mastery were distinctive features of the "Reverie," the "Military March," and "Harlequin's Journey Waltz."

A "Symphony" for full Symphony Orchestra is attributed to Constance F. Runcie, while Solomon Lichtenstein left behind an "Unfinished Symphony." Mrs. Runcie is credited with the composition of several shorter pieces for orchestra, and the same might be said of Paul Mori, and Louis Mayer (Sr.), who made many successful arrangements and transcriptions for Symphony Orchestra. Richard S. Poppen wrote a "Grand Reception March" which he dedicated to Henry Shaw, founder of the Missouri Botanical Garden and "Patron Saint" of the Henry Shaw Musical Society. Waldemar Malmene composed an "Elegie Militaire—In Memoriam" which was performed by the St. Louis Amateur Orchestra, May 27, 1879, while his "Serenata" was produced at a concert in 1873. Henry J. Benjamin's "March Parrhasius" is typical of a number of compositions which might be mentioned were space and length no consideration.

HOW CLAY COUNTY CELEBRATED HER CENTENNIAL

BY MRS. ETHEL MASSIE WITHERS

With the year 1922, Clay County rounded out a century of separate identity, for it was on January 2, 1822, that this county was set apart from Ray. There were many reasons why the year 1922 should be immortalized by the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of Clay County's organization. No county in the State of Missouri has had a more vivid, vital or varied history than Clay. A pioneer county on frontier territory, no phase of early struggles passed her by; settled by men and women of intellect and culture, no phase of progress was ignored; early she became the center of a busy life—in trade, in education, and in society; men of state-wide and national renown developed within her borders. With such a background it was natural that the centennial year should call for a survey of past glories and present resources.

While many organizations and many individuals joined in executing Clay County's centennial plans, the credit of having conceived the idea of a celebration and in a large measure of having planned it rests with Alexander Doniphan Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution. In November of 1921, the regent, Mrs. Robert S. Withers, presented tentative plans to the chapter; for March 9, 1922, she called a meeting of representatives of various Liberty organizations, and the plans suggested by the D. A. R. were approved with enthusiasm; during the following months, the D. A. R. kept up an active publicity campaign, and August 19, 1922, a second general meeting was called by the D. A. R. Regent, with representatives from all parts of the county.

At this meeting, the Clay County Centennial Association was formed and the following officers were elected:—chairman, E. E. Kirkland; vice-chairman, F. W. Mann; treasurer, R. R. Myall; secretary, Miss Jeannette Kiersted.

Followed weeks of intensive effort which brought details to perfection under the direction of these committee chairmen:—program, J. A. Weimer; grounds, D. A. Sharp; publicity, Mrs. P. Caspar Harvey; finance, R. R. Myall; invitation, Col. Wm. H. Woodson; concessions, Alan Wherritt; prize, F. B. Insley; souvenir buttons, Edgar Archer; exhibit of pioneer relics, Mrs. F. H. Matthews; pictorial history of Clay County, Mrs. Robert S. Withers; pageant, Mrs. C. M. Phillips; centennial ball, Tom Wornall, Jr.; centennial queen, Mrs. Lee B. Soper; parade, Geo. G. Hall; home products show, Robert S. Withers.

The personnel of the committees included three who had served on the Semi-Centennial Committee, many who were descendants of that committee, and many who worked as native sons and daughters though they were born elsewhere.

Smiling skies, an atmosphere only slightly tinged with the crispness of fall days and pungent with the wine of lavish harvests, landscapes rich in the gorgeous colorings that Nature assumes when, casting aside her summer garments, she puts on the reds and golds and gleaming bronzes in one last glorious fling of riotous beauty before she dons the quiet drabs and browns of winter months—all these joined in a charming conspiracy to furnish an ideal setting for Clay County's Centennial Celebration.

Weeks earlier the date had been set—October the eleventh and twelfth, and in these two days, months of preparation culminated in an occasion such as never before had been witnessed in Clay County, an occasion surpassing in beauty and varied interest, in attendance and in the heartfelt appreciation of those who came, the dreams of those who labored to bring it to pass.

The site chosen, the campus at the west side of Liberty, where Liberty Ladies College once stood, furnished ample space for all attractions. The merry-go-round and other concessions were back of the hill; the Farm Bureau tent, wherein were shown the products of Clay County's rich soil and samples of her housewives' fine cookery, and the Red Cross rest

tent occupied its summit; the D. A. R. log cabin, built in true pioneer style for the occasion, was registration headquarters, and stood near the main entrance; the speakers' stand faced the natural amphitheatre overlooking Fairview avenue.

Thousands of people came in response to the "Home-Coming" invitation sent by letter, by newspaper and by radio—they registered from California, from Washington, from Colorado, Nebraska, Tennessee and other states, they came in numbers from Kansas City and the nearby counties, and all of Clay County seemed to be present.

The attractions were so numerous and so well-placed that the crowd was handled without serious difficulty and not an accident occurred to mar the pleasure of the celebration. It was a happy, joyous throng delighted to meet old friends and exchange reminiscences.

The visitors passed from one feature to the next with a steadily increasing enthusiasm and enjoyment. Everyone was interested in the prizes which were given in sixty different contests, all were eager to meet the only requirement—registration—and much interesting information was secured. It was found that the oldest Centennial visitor was almost ninety-four years old, the youngest five weeks; that the oldest native born visitor was ninety-one; that one woman had taught in Sunday school forty-five years; that another had clerked in the same store thirty years; that another had come 2,600 miles to the celebration; that one man had lived on the same farm in Clay County eighty-one years; that a certain Masonic Lodge had been using the same coal stove for eighty-two years, and so on through a long list.

One of the most pretentious features of the Centennial was the pageant directed by the Fortnightly Study Club of Liberty. "A Century of Educational Progress" was depicted in nineteen episodes, beginning with the Indian scene, continuing with each important school in its order, and closing with modern educational influences. The setting on the sloping hill-side under the magnificent trees was perfect. Ten thousand people gathered to see and hear. The char-

acters and costumes were chosen with discrimination and the parts were developed with historic accuracy.

The exhibit of pioneer relics arranged by the D. A. R. included priceless treasures in the way of fine needle-work, handwoven coverlids, gowns, jewelry, old furniture, primitive household utensils and farming implements, and curios. Though it was known that Clay County had many things in this line of interest and value, the display far exceeded expectations and would have done credit to a colonial state. It was the regret of all that this wonderful collection could not be kept intact for the enjoyment and instruction of future generations.

The Centennial parade under the direction of Robert H. Baker Post of the American Legion was an inspiring spectacle. In this as in no other part of the celebration did the whole of Clay County participate; there was a friendly rivalry and a universal pride. For two hours the resources of the present day were displayed along with interesting historical events in a moving line of sustained interest. Floats were entered by towns, by schools, by lodges, by clubs, by retail stores and factories to the number of eighty, and each was a marvel of historic accuracy—note the American Legion Float with its bit of trench warfare—of clever arrangement or of sheer beauty.

Students bearing banners, children marching in costume, and on ponies, the inevitable clowns—Mutt and Jeff apparently walking on their hands—the calliope, and four bands added zest and interest to the parade. With a corps of Scottish pipers one of the "Little Contemptibles" played the same bagpipe that he used when the English met the Germans at Mons.

The parade was divided into three sections. In the civic section, first prize went to the Missouri City float—a steamboat model mounted on an automobile covered with bunting in the national colors and bearing this legend on the sides, "Missouri City, the Only Steamboat Town Left in Clay County"; second to The North Kansas City Development Company—"The Spirit of Progress"; third to the Fortnightly

Study Club of Liberty—"The Nine Muses". In the historical section, first prize went to Alexander Doniphan Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution—"Guests at Tea Time in a Colonial Room"; second to Moscow—"Mothers of All Ages"; third to the one-horse shay originally owned by Gen. Howe of the American Revolution who used to take his friend, George Washington, riding in it. In the commercial section first prize was awarded Hughes-McDonald Dry Goods Company of Liberty; second went to the Clay County Farm Bureau; third to Trimble Harness Company of Liberty.

While oratory may have been emphasized more in the celebration fifty years ago, there was no lack of it at the Centennial. Col. Wm. H. Woodson, who belonged to that period of long ago as well as to our own, presided on "Old Settlers' Day," and delighted his audience with pithy stories of pioneers and intimate recollections. The other speakers were three women of strong personality, each a member of an old Clay County family—Mrs. Henry N. Ess and Mrs. George B. Longan of Kansas City, and Mrs. Theodosia Lawson of St. Joseph, the last being a daughter of Col. John Thornton, a member of Clay County's first court, and a sister-in-law of Alexander W. Doniphan, Clay County's most noted military hero. On the second day, the "Centennial Address was delivered by Rev. Burris A. Jenkins of Kansas City.

How was this colossal undertaking financed? Largely by the sale of Centennial Association membership tickets at one dollar each. Tickets accorded the right to vote for Community Queens, and ten of these were chosen from as many communities in the county. All were guests of honor at the Centennial celebration and from their number Miss Dorothy Cates of Avondale was selected by three judges to be the Centennial Queen.

Other features on the two-days' program not already mentioned were a Clay County baseball tournament, a display of fireworks, the Centennial ball on the street in front of the reviewing stand and a masquerade ball at the same place on the following evening, auto polo game, radio concerts at one of which Liberty artists sang, a basket dinner

on the Centennial grounds, when hospitality was dispensed to friend and stranger with a lavish hand, and whenever the schedule permitted a concert by a band which entered into the spirit of the occasion and furnished an accompaniment to the hum of gladness and good-fellowship that filled the air.

Such is the story of Clay County's Centennial Celebration which will live in the minds of her people. To this celebration which can live only in memory, Alexander Doniphan Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution added a permanent feature which will stand as a monument to Clay County's first one-hundred years.

This was the publication of the "Clay County Missouri Centennial Souvenir." It is much more than a souvenir, it is in fact a "Pictorial History of Clay County," a volume of 196 pages, with 336 pictures of places, buildings, people, manuscripts, posters, etc., of historic interest, the old and the new, depicting every phase of life—home, religious, educational, military, business, recreational. Every picture is identified fully and correctly and special articles based on information gained from original sources add value to the work.

The publication of this book was undertaken by the D. A. R. with no idea of monetary reward, and the 750 copies have been given to the public at a price sufficient only to cover expenses which were about $4,000.00, but no professional historian ever expended more time or care in making his product authentic and therefore valuable. The editor, Ethel Massie Withers, was ably assisted by Gladys Cook Davidson and Luella Hoffman Goodson.

The D. A. R. very appropriately dedicated this Souvenir, this monument to a century that has passed, to the Pioneers of Clay County who wrought so well in the days of her beginning.

CLAY COUNTY MISSOURI CENTENNIAL SOUVENIR, 1822-1922.

BY FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER

A classic example of the new Missouri culture and of the new historical consciousness developing in this State, is the "Clay County Missouri Centennial Souvenir, 1822-1922," by the Alexander Doniphan Chapter, D. A. R., of Liberty, Missouri (The Liberty Tribune, 1922). The East has produced in recent years no work superior in the field of honoring local history without large private donations or public appropriation. Considering the fact that Clay county, Missouri, is only one hundred years old, has only 20,455 persons, and contains no city of over 5,000 population, this Centennial Souvenir is almost unique. It savors more of the older cultured centers of the Continent than of a community that was pioneer only three generations past. Still it is American in spirit from cover to cover. It fairly blazons democracy in subject and treatment, but democracy in its highest and best sense. To those who look askance at our institutions, it carries a message of faith and hope and accomplishment; to those who read and believe the Middle West only as depicted in "Main Street," it will cause a revaluation of their pessimistic convictions.

This book of 196 pages, containing 336 illustrations, is a lasting memorial to the historic pride and civic progressiveness of the citizens of an advancing American community. Its editor, Mrs. Ethel Massie Withers, with the co-operation of committees on illustrations, history, advertising, and distribution, has performed successfully a difficult task. The work contains many features of peculiar merit. Its portraits of the pioneers of Clay county and of many of the leading citizens of today, are valuable. Cuts of buildings, old and new, public and private, are included. Reproductions of old bills, posters, and broadsides are in keeping with the memorial character of the book. A chronological history of Clay county from 1822 to 1922, by Mrs. Luella Hoffman

Goodson, is excellently presented and illustrated. A good teacher could give valuable lessons to her Clay county pupils by carefully consulting this work.

Clay county's centennial celebration has been perpetuated. Her citizens enter their second century of progress in grateful humility and honor of their past and in confident pride of their future. The seeds of a historical consciousness have been planted. These people have proven that in spirit they are one people. Their future will be co-operation, unity in progressive work, and faith in themselves and their State. They will always be Missourians, lovers of home-land and home-lore. After reading this book, analyzing its contents, appreciating the pecuniary difficulties in publication and the self-sacrificing character of its compilers, I am more convinced than I have ever been before that history is intensely practical and that its teachings and influences are invaluable.

THE FIVE OLDEST FAMILY NEWSPAPERS IN MISSOURI

BY GRACE L. GILMORE

Missourians are justly proud of the fact that the first English language newspaper west of the Mississippi river was established in Missouri. This paper was the *Missouri Gazette*, founded in St. Louis in 1808, just five years after the purchase of Louisiana from France. After that date many newspapers were started, lived a year or so, and then suspended publication. Many were established to plead the cause of a political party or to aid a railroad. When the usefulness of the paper had passed, it often lost its identity or was abandoned. Those which did not suspend publication, as a rule changed management every few years, for many editors found that newspaper work at that early day in the West was not profitable. However, out of the four hundred or more papers established between 1808 and 1870, there are a few that have been under fairly continuous management. From this number have been selected what are believed to be the five oldest papers each of which, with one slight exception, has been owned and edited in Missouri by one family down to the present time.

THE PALMYRA SPECTATOR

The *Palmyra Spectator* holds the distinction of being the oldest paper in the state under continuous management. As far as known, with the exception of a brief period during the Civil war, the *Spectator* has never missed a publication. The files are the best evidence of this fact. These files, from the first number August 3, 1839, are bound in substantial covers and are stored in one of the fire-proof vaults in the Palmyra court house. No stock has ever been owned by anyone except Jacob Sosey and his sons.

The first issue of what is now the *Palmyra Spectator* was on the third of August, 1839. The paper was known as the

Missouri Whig and General Advertiser, but a few years later the name was shortened to the *Missouri Whig*. As indicated by the name, the paper was Whig in politics, and supported that party as long as it was in existence. It was not until 1860 that the name was changed to *The Palmyra Spectator*. Since 1860 it has been Democratic in principles and has always supported the candidates of that party.

Jacob Sosey, the founder of this paper, was born in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, July 5, 1808. After completing a common school education, he learned the printing trade in the office of the *Adam County Sentinel*, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Finishing his trade, he went to Virginia as a journeyman printer, and later purchased as interest in the *Staunton Spectator*. He assisted in the editorial management of the paper for about twelve years.

In the year 1838, Mr. Sosey came to Missouri, on the invitation of a number of citizens in Marion county who wanted a newspaper established at Palmyra, the county seat. He found that the demand was not as great as he had anticipated, and he went into Lafayette county to investigate matters there. Discouraged by the lack of prospects for a newspaper in that county, he had decided to buy a farm at Independence, Missouri, but the citizens of Marion county again summoned him to Palmyra. He returned to Virginia where he married Miss Mary A. Ruff, and together they came back to Marion county. Mr. and Mrs. Sosey settled in the now defunct town of Marion City, on the Mississippi river, seven miles east of Palmyra. With them came the entire printing outfit, including a year's supply of print paper. The paper was guaranteed to continue at least a year.

There were few other newspapers in that section of the country at the time, though several had started and suspended. Thus, in the advertising columns, were legal publications from other counties, sale advertisements, usually including offerings of negro slaves, notices of runaway slaves, announcements of lotteries, and the time tables of the Mississippi and Missouri river boats. At times wholesale houses in St. Louis carried advertisements several inches in length. There were also

MISSOURI WHIG,

AND GENERAL ADVERTISER.

VOL. I PALMYRA, (MISSOURI,) SATURDAY, AUGUST 3, 1839 NO. 1

TERMS OF THE WHIG

— Whig is published weekly at Four dollars, at two dollars and Fifty cents a year, when no subscriber. Three Dollars, if paid within six months; and Three Dollars and Fifty Cents, if not paid within the year.

No subscription will be taken for a less period than six months, nor will a discontinuance of all of arrearages are paid, except at the option of the publisher, and a failure to give notice, at the expiration of the year, to work in discontinue, will be considered as a new engagement.

Advertisements will be inserted at One Dollar per square for the first insertion, and Fifty Cents for each subsequent insertion. A liberal deduction will be made to those who advertise by the year.

All letters and communications intended for publication, must be addressed (post paid) to the editor, and be accompanied with the name of a personal character or no charged as advertisements.

All letters must be post paid.

Specimen of the curious work of Wilcox's Mill.

POETRY.

FOR THE WHIG.

Suggested by the following lines in a late newspaper a few weeks since:

Where is the Banks that sought to overthrow,
Where is the Banks that sought to overthrow,
Where is the Banks that sought to overthrow,

numerous professional cards and announcements from local merchants. These always ran by the year and the copy was never changed oftener than quarterly.

There was little local news in the paper. Notices of deaths and marriages were given in a few lines, and the first issue contained only two such items. The balance of the issue was taken up with political articles, a short story, a piece of poetry, a few jokes used as "fillers," and long speeches by Whig statesmen in various parts of the country. There was not a single item of local news in the first issue aside from the one death and the one wedding. However, there was an account of a murder someplace in the East, of a fire in St. Louis, and several similar items. It was, in fact, a general newspaper, not a local one. Later on, there were frequent explanations that the St. Louis and Eastern mails were two or three weeks late, which accounted for the scarcity of news.

The paper has always been issued as a weekly. The first numbers were of four pages, six columns each. The type used was small, 6 and 8 point, and to use a printers' term, was "lean." The advertisements were all single column, set up without much display and occupying little space. Consequently a great deal of type had to be set for each issue, really considerably more than a great many weeklies now set. Neat typographically, the paper would compare favorably in appearance with the newspapers of today. The paper used was made of pure rag, and shows but little signs of age at this time.

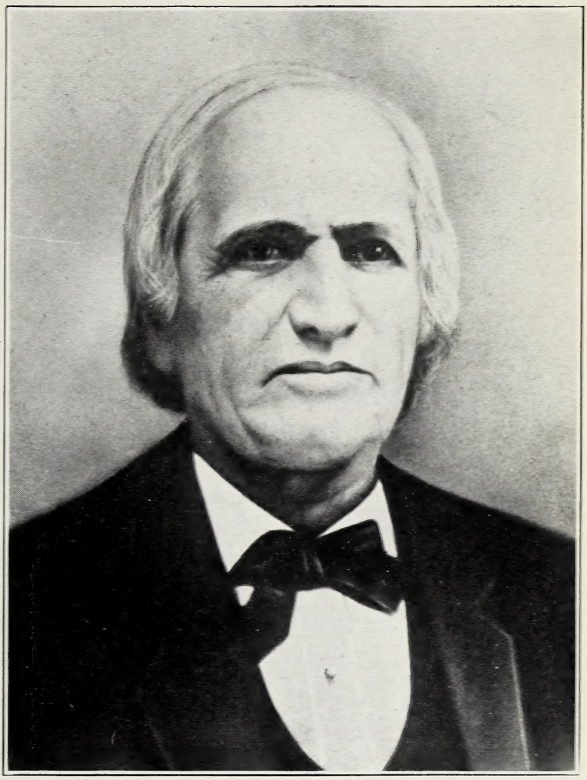
There was little difference in the general character of the paper during the first twenty years, except that it was enlarged to an 8-column folio, and later assumed the big blanket sheet form, of 9-columns. Slightly more local news was given, but it has been in comparatively recent years only that "personals" and country correspondence was countenanced. There were a number of contributers signing themselves "Old Subscriber," "Tax Payer," etc., from several counties, but they always wrote on political subjects.

While a neutral policy was necessarily adopted during the Civil war, it was well known that the editor was a strong

Southern sympathizer and that he had two sons serving in the Confederate army. This fact led to the only suspension of publication since the paper was established in 1839, and that was for a period of only a few weeks. During the war there was an election, and the Democratic ballots were printed in the *Spectator* office. The night prior to the election, a party of roughs from Hannibal came to Palmyra, broke into the office and burned the ballots. Then, in order to make a clean job of it, they threw the type into the street and broke the presses. This was really a good thing for the paper, as, in a short time, the old Washington hand press was replaced by a Taylor Cylinder. It was propelled by "nigger power," and would seem crude in this day, but it was possibly the most expensive piece of printing machinery in that part of the state and was a marvel at the time.

An incident connected with the breaking of the presses and the throwing of the type into the street during the Civil war, was that a little boy, James W. Devereaux, was out early the next morning and picked up a lot of the type and several small cuts. With the type to play with, he took a liking to the printing business. When only twelve years of age he went to work as "devil" in the *Spectator* office. At the time of his death he was foreman and had worked continuously in the office for fifty-two years. During all this time he had carefully preserved the type and cuts he had picked up, and when in 1914, the *Spectator* issued its seventy-fifth anniversary edition, it was possible to produce several facsimile advertisements from the material used in 1839.

In the prospectus published in the first issue, the subscription rates were given as $2.50 a year, and $3.00 if not paid in advance. The advertising rates were the same for commercial announcements as they were for legal—one dollar a square for the first insertion and fifty cents for subsequent insertions. Very few subscriptions were paid in advance after the first year, and it is believed a record was established by one of the present owners about thirty years ago, when he collected forty dollars on back subscription from one man. After the Civil war the subscription price was reduced to



Jabob Sosey
Founder of The Missouri Whig, later
The Palmyra Spectator

$1.50 and later to $1.00; but during the recent paper shortage it was again raised to $1.50, and the terms are now strictly in advance.

Jacob Sosey was the owner and editor of the paper up to the time of his death—August 8, 1888. Mr. Sosey, by his first wife had two sons who reached the age of manhood. One died from injuries received in the Civil war. The other, Harper R., served also in the army and then assisted his father in the editing and management of the paper up to the time of his death. Mr. Sosey, at times, employed other assistants, but he always owned and controlled the policy of the paper. His first wife died in 1857, and in 1860 Mr. Sosey married Miss Annie M. Hanley, the mother of the present owners.

After the death of his son, Harper R., Mr. Sosey again took full charge, and up to the time of his last illness when eighty years of age, though through no necessity for financial reasons, persisted in working at his trade as printer. For several hours each day he stood at the case and set type, composing editorials as he worked, seldom, if ever, working from manuscript. During the last years of his life, Frank H. Sosey, a son, assisted in the management. At the founder's death, in 1888, the paper became the property of Frank H. and John M. Sosey, who have since owned and edited it.

F. H. Sosey, the senior member of the firm of Sosey Brothers, under whose management the paper is now conducted, was born February 14, 1864. He married Miss Sallie Hawkins, daughter of the late Judge Thos. W. Hawkins. Mr. Sosey has served several terms in the Missouri Legislature, and was for eight years United States Appraiser in St. Louis, but he has always been financially interested in the paper and an editorial contributor. John Sosey, the junior member of the firm, was born April 24, 1868, and has been joint owner and editor since the death of his father. He was married in 1895 to Miss Eloise Mumpower, daughter of Reverend John A. Mumpower.

During the life of Jacob Sosey, a building was erected by him for a printing office, and since his death it has been

enlarged and thoroughly equipped as a modern country printing plant. When the business was first established, the equipment was meager as compared with the present equipment, but made a very creditable showing in that day. Could the founder return to the business he established, though he was an expert printer, he would be as much at a loss as to what to do as the printer of today would have been in the little shop of 1839. The racks for handset type have been replaced by linotype machines. The old hand press is superseded by a heavy Babcock-Optimus and large paper cutters take the place of an old shoe knife. Job presses are twice as large as they were and there are a great number of smaller machines that Mr. Sosey never heard of in the mechanical department, all run by electricity instead of "nigger power." As to the business office, he never had a typewriter, an adding machine or a cash register, and even up to the time of his death the telephone was in the experimental stage and he never used it.

In size, the paper is now six columns, and runs from twelve to sixteen pages, and occasionally twenty or more. The majority of the older citizens of the county have read it all their lives, but as far as known there is no one now living who read the first copy of the *Spectator* at the time it was issued. Judge W. F. McPike, of Round Grove township, before his death this past summer, was the last to claim this distinction.

The State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia has kept since 1899 a complete file of the *Spectator* and this may be found at any time in the bound form in the Historical Society rooms.

THE HERMANN VOLKSBLATT

On October 25, 1854, Jacob Graf launched the first issue of the *Hermanner Volksblatt*. In 1843, Edward Muehl and Carl Strehly had founded the *Lichtfreund*, a four-page, four-column German paper, devoted chiefly to literature and politics. This paper was subsequently changed to a weekly under the title *Hermanner Wochenblatt* and continued publi-

cation until the death of Muehl, its editor, in 1854, when Jacob Graf purchased the plant, consisting of a Washington hand-press and a small amount of type.

Jacob Graf was a native of Switzerland and a graduate of the University of Berne. He came to America with his parents, who settled in Hermann in 1848. Jacob, then twenty-four years of age, remained in St. Louis, where he worked as a compositor on a German paper and later as a writer on a small French publication. While in St. Louis, Mr. Graf married Miss Christina Esslinger, who had accompanied the Grafs to America.

The *Volksblatt* appeared as a general newspaper. It was a 5-column folio, the body type being Bourgeois, and though the type was old, the paper had a neat appearance. The title page contained nothing but a serial story. The principal feature of the paper was the two or three column leader on the second page, in which the editor discussed political issues and events. Besides the editorial on the second page, there was a department of foreign news. The last two pages were taken up with local news, ads and miscellaneous matter.

Before the completion of the Pacific (now the Missouri Pacific) railroad the material for the paper was taken to Hermann by boat from St. Louis, and in the winter months when the boats had gone into winter quarters, often by wagon. Not having the means to lay in a large supply of newsprint, it often happened that the paper supply was exhausted before another could arrive, and as a consequence, no *Volksblatt* could be issued for several weeks. It so happened once that an issue of the paper had to appear to legalize the publication of several legal advertisements. The only paper available was a merchant's stock of wall paper. This was used, and a half sheet of the *Volksblatt* was printed on it. Unfortunately this issue, together with all other issues of the paper from 1854 to 1860, have been lost.

In 1858 the circulation of the *Volksblatt* had reached 400 subscribers. The subscription price was $2.00 a year, payable in advance, but this rule of payment in advance was not strictly observed. The chief source of revenue appears

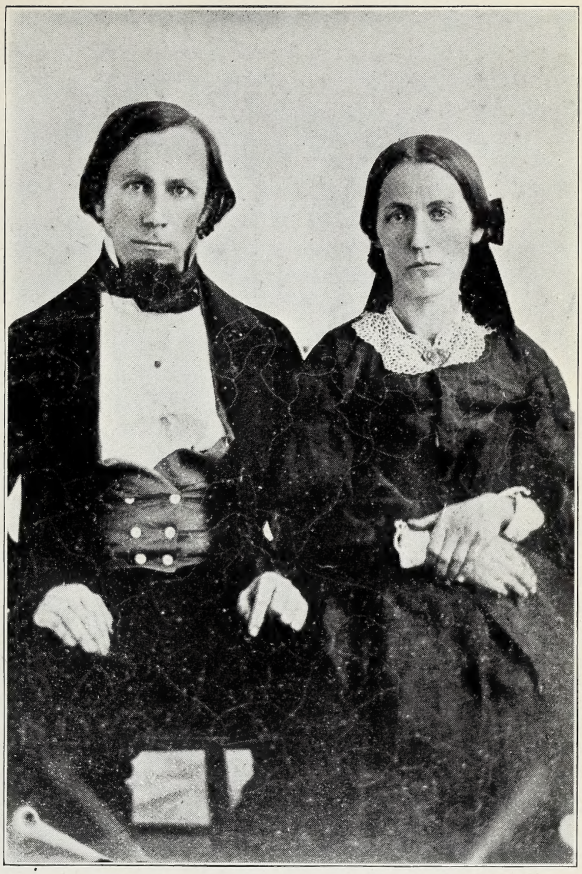
to have been from the publication of the county tax delinquent list, sheriff sales and other legal advertisements which were printed in English. The local advertising patronage was not a liberal one, the issues from 1854 to 1864 showing an average of only five columns of advertisements, of which two-thirds were legal and foreign.

The printing office was literally a one-man shop. In the early years, Jacob Graf did the newsgathering, writing, printing and mailing without assistance, except on the weekly publication day, when Mrs. Graf manipulated the ink-roller. Mr. Graf, on busy days, would not convey his editorials first to paper and then into type, but would stand before the type case, composing stick in hand, and put his ideas directly into type.

Editor Graf was a strong opponent of slavery. During the campaign of 1860 he was an ardent admirer of Lincoln and championed his election, the name of Abraham Lincoln heading the editorial page in bold type. His forcefully expressed abolition sentiments, while reaping the plaudits of the majority of his readers, gained for him the enmity and bitter hatred of the slave holders of the neighborhood, who threatened him with vengeance, especially preceeding and during the Civil war.

Mr. Graf entered the Union service soon after war was declared and the publication of his paper remained suspended until his return from the army a few months later. During this time the press and forms rested securely under four feet of soil in the back yard of the printing office, the pro-slavery element having threatened to destroy the plant.

Editor Graf was a forceful writer. At times he became rather caustic, especially during the years from 1860 to 1864, when politics ran rampant and he was continually in danger of bodily harm. He was not afraid to give voice to his convictions. This, however, in war time is not always prudent, especially when those convictions concern the body military. Because of an article which appeared in the *Volksblatt*, May 23, 1863, Graf was placed under arrest by order of Adjutant-General Crawford. Under escort of Captain C. D. Eitzen of



Jacob Graf
Founder of The Hermann Volksblatt, and
Mrs. Christina E. Graf

Hermann, he was taken before General Crawford in Jefferson City, the nature of the charge being war obstruction. At the hearing before General Crawford, who had objected particularly to the term, "militia humbug" which had been used in the offending editorial, Graf stated that he did not consider the militia a humbug. He had stated however, and still held that the manner in which the militia was handled, would make that branch of the army ineffectual and, in a short time, degrade it to a mere humbug. Graf was then asked his opinion of Governor Gamble's administration to which he replied that he and the loyal citizens of Gasconade county had no confidence in the governor nor in his administration. After this "rebellious and treasonable" reply, Mr. Graf was compelled to listen to the cautioning yet fatherly advice on the text: "Be thou subservient to authority." General Crawford assured the editor that the general order for enrollment of the reserves had emanated from his office, that the order had to be obeyed and that Mr. Graf should so state in the next issue of his paper and mail a copy to the General. The order had been antagonized by Graf because it had not been given under the signature of General Crawford, but under the call of inferior officers. The "prisoner of war" was discharged with the assurance that the faulty conditions in the militia would receive prompt attention.

During the war, Mr. Graf was a Radical and an uncompromising abolitionist. Through the *Volksblatt* he antagonized President Lincoln for his conciliatory attitude toward the South, as well as for his timidity in the prosecution of the war against the Confederacy. In the campaign of 1864, Mr. Graf supported John C. Fremont until he withdrew from the race shortly before the election. Since 1866 the *Volksblatt* has always supported the Republican party.

For two years after the death of Jacob Graf in 1870, Mrs. Graf continued the publication of the paper with Rudolph Hirzel, at that time a struggling young lawyer, as editor. In 1873, Charles Eberhardt and Hermann Lindemann of St. Louis took charge of the *Volksblatt*, but within the same year, the ownership reverted back to Mrs. Graf. Joseph Leising,

of Chillicothe, Ohio, then became editor, and under his management, the first English paper in Gasconade county, *The Gasconade County Advertiser* was launched from the same office. This paper in a short time absorbed a rival publication and became known as *The Advertiser-Courier*. With Leising's retirement as editor and manager in 1881, Gert. Goebel, former State Senator, of Franklin county, became editor. In the following year, Mrs. Graf retired as publisher and turned over to her sons, Theodore and Julius, the two papers. Under the firm name of Graf Brothers, they took charge of the business and continued the publication of both papers. A Cincinnati cylinder press was added and the papers enlarged to 7-column folios. Theodore Graf, then twenty-one years old, was editor of both papers which he enlarged to 6-column quartos or eight pages. He became a member of the Missouri Press Association, and in 1882, had the honor of being the youngest member. He is still a member of this Association.

Julius Graf died in 1915 and his interest in the firm, which had been incorporated in 1905 as the Graf Printing Company, is now owned by his widow, Charlotte Graf, and her son Alfred. Theodore Graf and his son, Leander G. Graf, own the other half interest in the company. In 1902, Theodore Graf was elected clerk of the Gasconade county court and in 1906 was re-elected. In 1914 he was made probate judge, which office he holds at the present time. He has continued as editor of the *Volksblatt*, however, since 1882.

Unfortunately, all files of the paper from 1854 to 1859, inclusive, are lost, and only partially complete files between the years 1860 and 1875 are bound. Since 1876, however, the files are complete and bound. They are kept in two especially built cases in the office of the *Volksblatt*. The State Historical Library has complete files of the paper since 1905.

THE CANTON PRESS

In 1862, when the Civil war had embittered old time friends, and practically all weekly papers in Northeast Missouri had suspended publication, Jesse W. Barrett was re-

moved from his position as principal of the Canton Methodist Seminary. Mr. Barrett had formerly engaged in newspaper work in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, and, while looking around Canton for other employment, he noticed the need of a newspaper in that section of the country. In Hannibal, he found a pile of junk, the remains of a newspaper office that had been "knocked into pi" by Union soldiers. He gathered it together, and had it shipped to Canton. On July 1, 1862, the first number of the *Canton Press*, a Democratic weekly, was issued. The motto read, "Pledged but to truth, to liberty and law, no favor swings us and no fear shall awe."

He had an old-fashioned Washington hand-press, and a Pioneer jobber, one of the first made, while the type and other material was old and shopworn. A number of Mr. Barrett's friends refused to subscribe for the paper for more than three months, claiming that he would not be able to print it for a longer time. However, with Barrett's good management, the paper was self-sustaining from the beginning.

In 1872, a new Potter country press was installed, and a few years later, the old jobber was exchanged for a new Peerless. The present publishers have not yet been able to figure out a profit by the use of a linotype machine, hence, are holding to the hand-set. Mr. Barrett, in 1875, took into partnership his two sons, C. W. and H. H. Barrett, and the *Press* was published under the firm name of J. W. Barrett and Sons. After Mr. Barrett's death September 9, 1886, the two sons took control changing the firm name to Barrett Brothers. Thus, for over sixty years, the *Canton Press* has been published continouusly by the Barrett family. In the office of the *Press*, there are copies on file of every one of the more than 3,000 issues of the paper. In the State Historical Library the files are complete from 1913 to date.

The paper was first issued as a 6-column folio, then it was enlarged to 7-columns. About 1870, the *Press* was made a 6-column quarto, but, finding the advertising problem a puzzle, it was again made a folio, first of 8-columns and later of 9-columns. The real aim of the founder of this paper was

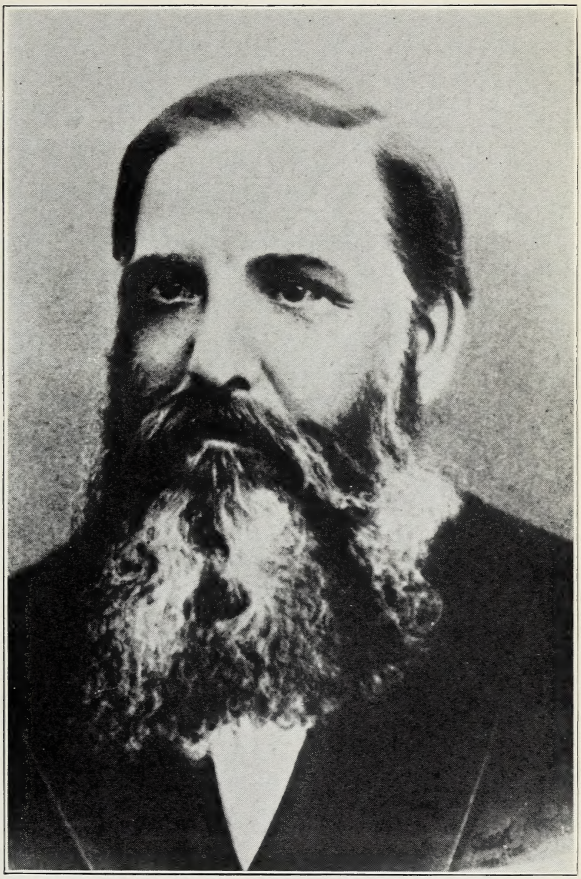
to be, "The greatest good to the greatest number," and this is also the purpose of the present publishers.

Jesse W. Barrett, the founder of the *Press*, was born in Berwick, Pennsylvania, May 6, 1822. He was reared on a farm near Berwick. Mr. Barrett made his own way through Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, after which he preached and taught school until he moved to Williamsport, where he had charge of the Methodist Seminary. He also published the *Lycoming County Press*. In the fall of 1857 Barrett moved to Lee Center, Illinois. After a year's residence there as principal of a Methodist Seminary, he removed to St. Louis, where he served as pastor of the Bremen and Clayton Methodist Episcopal churches. He was summoned to Canton, Missouri, in 1859 to take charge of the Methodist Seminary. He was conducting this school with much success until 1862, when the Union soldiers took possession of both the seminary buildings and the church.

Mr. Barrett had little trouble in starting the *Press* as the soldiers had been ordered to the front. He received legal publications from the adjoining counties and was most successful until the fall of 1862, when General Porter made his famous raid into Northeast Missouri. From that time, until the close of the Civil war, the editor saw the most strenuous times of his life, and though his enemies, who misunderstood him, endeavored in various ways to stop the publication of his paper, Mr. Barret managed to continue.

Jesse W. Barrett was a member of the State Legislature when B. Gratz Brown was Governor of Missouri. Later, he was a favorite for the nomination for Secretary of State and Suprintendent of Public Schools but withdrew in favor of friends who were running for the nomination. About 1864, he was made Grand Master of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and later, being a representative to the Sovereign Grand Lodge, he made the trip to San Francisco on the first Pullman train ever drawn over the Union Pacific railroad. The Odd Fellows of Missouri have erected a monument in his memory in the beautiful Forest Grove Cemetery.

With Norman J. Colman, William F. Switzler and others,



JESSE W. BARRETT
Founder of the Canton Press and
First President of the Missouri
Press Association

Mr. Barrett organized the Missouri Press Association in St. Louis, May 17, 1867. He had the honor of being the first president of the Association, and of holding this office three years. Jesse W. Barrett, the grandson of the founder of the *Canton Press* and son of H. H. Barrett, was elected Attorney-General of Missouri in 1920.

THE TRENTON REPUBLICAN

Out of the five old family newspapers chosen for this article, there are but two which have remained under the ownership of one individual for a period as long as fifty-three years. The *Trenton Republican*, owned by Colonel W. B. Rogers, claims the distinction of being one of these. The first issue of the *Republican* was in the year 1864, but it was not until 1869 that Colonel Rogers became the owner. There are stories revolving around this paper which begin at the back office with the old Seth Thomas clock still running after more than fifty-three years of service, and the foreman, Dave Conrads, who has been in the shop for more than forty years, up to the front office where Colonel Rogers himself sits every day to watch the paper come out and read the news of his beloved town.

In Fayette county, Ohio, February 8, 1835, Colonel Rogers was born on a little farm, marking the beginning of a career of citizen, soldier, officer and editor. Those were the days of the log school houses. Amid simple environment, Colonel Rogers learned the lessons of honesty, thrift and hard work, lessons which stood him well in later days of his life.

Colonel Rogers came to Missouri in 1856, traveling from Burlington to Mercer county on foot. His first business in this state was as farm hand at $15 a month. Later, he was selected as teacher of a district school receiving $25 a month. With his earnings he entered Grand River College, now a memory only, at Edinburg, Missouri. The war found Rogers in school. In the fall of 1861 he enlisted in the Mercer Battalion for six months, and remained in service until the end of his enlistment. In the fall of 1862 he was elected sheriff of

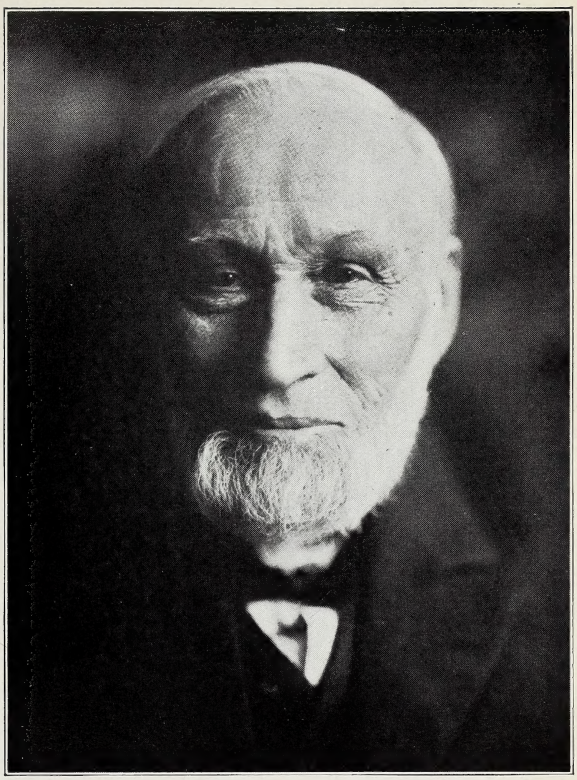
Mercer county and, in response to the command of the governor, raised the militia and was nominally at their head. Later he raised a company of volunteers for active service, which was designated as Company D and attached to the Forty-fourth Regiment of Missouri Infantry, commanded by Colonel R. C. Bradshaw. Colonel Rogers received his honorable discharge in August, 1865, after a long and creditable record.

Returning to Missouri, he engaged in the mercantile business at Ravenna, and it was during this time that Colonel Rogers married Miss Cynthia A. Buren, daughter of Reverend John J. Buren, of Daviess county, one of the early settlers and a fellow student in college. At the close of a period of four years, he was elected state senator, the only office he has held during the time he has been engaged in newspaper work. Colonel Rogers never sought office after he took over the *Grand River Republican* in 1869 from W. H. Roberts and E. S. Darlington.

The *Republican* was a 7-column paper at the beginning, but, as improvement was made and patronage increased, it became an 8-column paper by 1879. It was announced that year that letter heads, envelopes and similar work could be printed in Trenton, which before that time had to be ordered from the city. It was in 1879 also that the name was changed from *Grand River Republican* to *Trenton Republican*.

During his early years of ownership Colonel Rogers bought out the *Star* and the *News*, both of which had started in opposition. The last paper to be bought out was the *Trenton Tribune*, owned and edited by C. D. Morris, now editor of the *St. Joseph News-Press*. The paper then became the *Trenton Republican-Tribune*. In September, 1881, a daily was started. It is one of the older country papers in the state to hold membership in the Associated Press.

Colonel Rogers has taken an active interest in Republican politics. Though never seeking office, he has, through his position as chairman of the county committee for many years, attempted, so far as he could, to see that good men were put forward for election. He has always been a prohibitionist.



W. B. Rogers
Pioneer Editor and for Fifty-
Three Years Publisher of
The Trenton Republican

Never did the paper accept a liquor advertisement.

The subscription rates back in 1869 present a striking difference from the rates of today. Money subscriptions did not seem to be as popular as farm produce. Three bushels of corn, six bushels of potatoes, ten pounds of lard or ten dozen of eggs—any one was acceptable for a year's subscription to the *Republican*.

Files of the paper in the office of the *Trenton Republican*, save for one year, are complete and run back to the time Colonel Rogers first took over the paper. They represent a complete history of the happenings of Grundy county over a long period of time. Almost all are in excellent condition. Complete files of the *Trenton Weekly Republican* have been kept by the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia since 1899. They are well bound and are available to the public.

Today the paper presents an appearance which is strange to one who is unaccustomed to it. (People in other cities have called the paper the "Handbill" in fun.) There are but five columns, nineteen inches long. Compared with a large city daily, it is less than half the size. However, from a small country printing office *The Republican* has grown until it now runs an establishment equal to that of any county seat town in the state, and is equipped with modern presses, two linotypes, and a large assortment of types and fixtures.

One son, N. G. Rogers, was associated with his father for about twelve years, dying when he had reached his period of greatest usefulness in journalism. At present, his daughter, Mrs. Carrie Rogers Clark, is associated with the Colonel and is actively in charge of the paper. The paper is a corporation, the W. B. Rogers Printing Company. The Colonel still owns most of the stock and all is owned within the family.

Colonel Rogers is as much interested in his paper today as he was fifty years ago. Every day finds him at his desk, and although he does none of the work, he is constantly watching and is a careful reader of every issue. He is as hopeful of the morrow and as cheerful of the future as he was years ago, perhaps even more so.

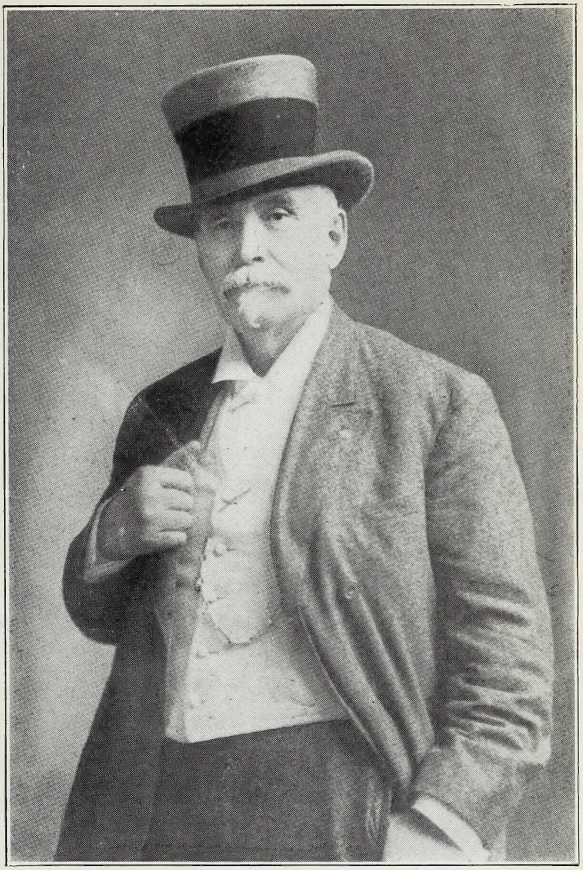
Not long ago a list of fifty-year subscribers to the paper was published, and it grew to a surprising number. Ten, twenty, thirty and forty year readers are common. The *Trenton Republican* has been the enduring and lasting paper of the county.

THE SEDALIA BAZOO

It has always been Colonel Goodwin's political hobby, to publish a paper in the interest of the minority party; hence, he was content when he published the *Bazoo* for the first time on June 1, 1869, in Sedalia. At that time, Pettis county was radical in politics as was the whole state of Missouri, and the Democratic party was hopelessly in the minority.

The Sedalia *Bazoo* is the only one of this group of papers to claim the honor of having remained under the ownership of its founder from the date of its first issue June 1, 1869, to the present time, a period of fifty-three years. *The Bazoo*, for several years has been published as a periodical, with one issue a month, but it still retains the vigorous style for which Colonel Goodwin's paper has always been noted. Colonel Goodwin once said of himself, "I have expressed my own convictions in the plainest and simplest words at my command. I have always tried to make myself understood. I have generally succeeded—sometimes too well." The unique motto, "Published for the People Now on Earth," has brought attention to this little paper from all parts of the country.

Mr. J. West Goodwin was born in Brownville, Jefferson county, New York, October 3, 1836. He was named John Wesley by his parents, who were ardent Methodists, but during his boyhood days, he was always known as "West" Goodwin, and since he reached manhood, he has written his name as above. Educational advantages were limited in the early life of Mr. Goodwin. In 1850, when less than fourteen years of age, he entered the printing office of the *Democratic Union*, published by John A. Haddock, at Watertown, New York. Here he began to learn the printing trade. However, Mr. Haddock sold his printing establishment in a few months



J. West Goodwin
Founder of
The Sedalia Bazoo

and young Goodwin, as he was in poor health, returned to his father's farm. It was not until 1854 that he again entered a printing office, this time in an office in Potsdam, St. Lawrence county, New York. Here he completed his apprenticeship, under Captain Harry C. Fay, publisher of the *Courier*, and became a journeyman printer.

In 1857, Mr. Goodwin left New York for the West. He stopped at Lafayette, Indiana, where he worked on the *Journal*, first as a pressman and subsequently as a compositor. However, his health failed him and he was forced to give up the work at the case and engage in carrying papers and soliciting, work that kept him out of doors. In 1858, during the excitement of the Douglas campaign, Goodwin conducted a paper at Frankfort, Clinton county, Indiana, and made it a strong exponent of the Democratic principles. After the election he returned to Lafayette and resumed work, first on the *Journal*, and later on the *Argus*. In 1859 he worked at the case on the *Enquirer*, at Memphis, Tennessee. He stayed in Memphis but a short time, and, in 1860, became owner and editor of a Democratic newspaper at Liberty, Indiana. Goodwin was vigorously opposed to the election of Lincoln, but was a staunch Union man. In 1861, he offered himself for enlistment in the Fifteenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, but was rejected because of physical disabilities. Subsequently he sought acceptance in the Sixteenth Regiment, but was refused for the same reason as before by the examining surgeon. He then went to western Virginia, where he joined McClellan's army in the quartermaster's department. Having regained his health, he enlisted in the Sixty-second Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, with which he served in the Army of the Cumberland, under General George H. Thomas. November 1, 1865, Colonel Goodwin was mustered out of service.

In December, 1865, Colonel Goodwin was married to Miss Martha Torrence Hunt of Rising Sun, Indiana, who died August 15, 1886, leaving four sons.

After his marriage, he took charge of the *Southwest Union Press* in Springfield, Missouri. This was the first Democratic

paper printed south of the Osage river after the war. He remained here but a few months, then moved to Sedalia. In May, 1868, he opened a printing office there, beginning with one small press and a few type. Colonel Goodwin advertised his office as the Artemus Ward Job Printing House. On June 1, 1869, Colonel Goodwin issued the first number of an independent Democratic weekly paper, the *Bazoo*. The peculiar title, and the brisk, penetrating style used, gave the paper fame almost from the beginning.

On September 20, 1869, the *Daily Bazoo* was started. The printed page was 9 by 13, four pages of four columns each. The weekly was four pages, with six columns to the page, and the matter used in the daily was transferred to the weekly. When first started, the *Bazoo* was set in 8 and 10 point type, and was printed on a Washington hand-press. It was not until December 31, 1874, that the paper was printed on a cylinder press by steam power.

The earliest *Daily Bazoo* in the State Historical Library at Columbia, is July 1, 1873. In it there is very little community news. Over half of the twenty-four columns in this issue are filled with advertisements. The front page heads its second column, "Scrip," and reads something like this:

—"Bauer and Letord have a new barber pole as gordeous as a Chinese pagoda."

—"Postal cards addressed to the prettiest girl in town are quite numerous."

The first column gives the arrival and departure of trains and a few want ads, not the kind of ads seen today, but such as this:

"WANTED—Purchasers for the finest jewlry in the city at ———."

The last column on the front page is called "Odds and Ends" and in it may be found bits of news all the way from Florida to Maine. In the remaining space is a poem called "Repentance," together with an article on "Cholera," one on the "Signs of Madness in Dogs," and several small items. The other three pages are filled almost entirely with advertisements with perhaps a dozen lines on the death of a diplomat

in Italy and as many lines on the Vienna Commission Scandal.

The early subscription rates are somewhat surprising. The terms for the daily were $10.00 a year in advance, $5.00 for six months in advance and $1.00 for one month in advance. The rates for the weekly were $1.00 for one year or twenty-five cents per week. The present rates for the monthly magazine, *The Bazoo*, are $1.00 per year or ten cents for a single copy. The weekly had about three hundred subscribers in September, 1869, and the daily circulation was a few over one hundred.

Colonel Goodwin says it was part of his "newspaper religion" to keep files of his paper. He saved four issues of each copy. The papers for the first six months of the daily were burned in the St. Louis Republican building, while being bound. With this exception, there is a complete file in Colonel Goodwin's office, all securely bound and in good repair. A duplicate set of the files of the *Bazoo* may be found in the Sedalia Public Library. The State Historical Library at Columbia does not have a complete file. The bound volumes of the *Weekly Bazoo* begin with June, 1877, and run to 1893 with the years 1882, 1885, 1886 and 1888 missing. The files of the *Daily Bazoo* may be found from the years 1873 to 1894, while the *Monthly Bazoo*, the last form of Colonel Goodwin's paper, is complete since 1919.

The *Bazoo* has always upheld the right and denounced wrong. The paper once denounced a theatrical manager for allowing an immoral show to exhibit in his theatre. For that, Colonel Goodwin says, the manager solicited three women of the troupe to horsewhip him, which they tried to do but were put to flight before their purpose was accomplished. Again, many years ago, the council felt called upon to remove one of the city officials, which action they considered to be in the interest of the city. In the long fight that followed, the *Bazoo*, a Democratic organ, was the only paper that defended the Republican council.

Colonel Goodwin stood for political fairness as well as civic improvement. When men were nominated for local offices whom the *Bazoo* would not support, Colonel Goodwin

would issue his paper immediately following the meeting of the nominating convention. He believed in the theory of first impressions being the lasting ones, and he claimed that if his paper was read first by the people, he could usually defeat the candidates whom he refused to support.

The *Bazoo Monthly* was started in 1915 more for fun and enjoyment, Colonel Goodwin says, than for profit. The present circulation is about six hundred. This is not a large number but the readers of the *Bazoo* may be found from New York to California.

Today, J. West Goodwin is one of the figures in the history of journalism in Missouri. His courage, his utter forgetfulness of self in his zeal for the common good, for Sedalia and Missouri will long be remembered.

Each of these early journalists often faced great difficulties, but the fact that the papers are still being published by their founders or by descendants of their founders, shows that these difficulties were overcome. These five newspapers are splendid examples of the advancement made by journalism in Missouri in the last sixty years. The first issues were published to furnish ideas rather than news. In those early days, news traveled faster by word of mouth than by news service, and the editors had not yet learned that people are most interested in reading of the things about which they already have some knowledge. Where these papers now record news of their own community, in 1870 they gave a mere abstract of world news and politics. Much space was given to proceedings of Congress and to anonymous communications, and but little was printed which appealed to the interest that every normal person feels in the affairs of his neighbors.

Today these papers offer sane counsel and analysis in their editorials, and, most important of all, thoroughly cover their local news fields. Aside from the importance of these papers in their respective communities, they are invaluable in the detailed records they give of state history.

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO

AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR

JOHN N. EDWARDS

NINTH ARTICLE

CHAPTER XVIII

The three complaining powers—England, France and Spain—met in London, October, 1861, and agreed that each should send upon the Expedition an equal naval force, and that the number of troops to be furnished by each should be regulated according to the number of subjects which the respective powers had in Mexico. It was further expressed and stipulated that the intervention should only be for the purpose of enforcing the payment of the claims assumed to be due, and that in no particular was any movement to be made looking to an occupation of the country. England, however, was dissatisfied with a portion of France's claim, and Spain coincided with England. Notwithstanding this fact, however, a joint fleet was sent to Vera Cruz, which reached its destination January 6, 1862. On the 7th, six thousand three hundred Spanish, two thousand eight hundred French, and eight hundred English troops were disembarked, and by a treaty made with Juarez at Soledad, and signed February 19, 1862, these troops were permitted to leave the fever marshes about Vera Cruz, and march to the glorious regions about Orizava.

Orizava, on the National Road midway between Cordova and Puebla, is a city whose climate and whose surroundings might recall to any mind the Garden of Eden. Its skies are always blue, its air is always balmy, its women are always beautiful, its fruit is always ripe, and its sweet repose but rarely broken by the clamor of marauding bands, or the graver warfare of more ferocious revolutionists.

To admit the strangers into such a land, sick from the tossings of the sea, and weak from the poison of the low lagoons, was worse for Juarez than a pitched battle wherein the victory rested with the invaders. Some of them at least would lay hands upon it for its beauty alone, if other and more plausible reasons could not be found. At an early day, however, the ambitious designs of Napoleon began to manifest themselves. There were some protests made, some sharp correspondence had, not a few diplomatic quarrels indulged in, and at last, to cut a knot they could not untie, the English and Spanish troops were ordered back peremptorily to Vera Cruz, the two nations abandoning the alliance, and withdrawing their forces entirely from the country. This left the French alone and unsupported. The treaty of Soledad expired, and they were ordered by Juarez to return to their original position. For answer there was an immediate attack.

The city of Puebla, ninety miles north from Orizava, strong by nature, had been still more strongly fortified, and was held by a garrison of twenty thousand Liberals, under the command of Saragosa, an ardent and impassioned young Mexican, as brave as he was patriotic. Gen. Lorencez, who commanded the French, without waiting for reinforcements, and being destitute of a siege train, dashed his two thousand soldiers against the ramparts of Puebla, and had them shattered and repulsed. The battle lasted a whole day through, and thrice the Third Zouaves passed the ditch, and thrice they were driven back. At nightfall a retreat was had, and after sore marching and fighting Lorencez regained Orizava, fortifying in turn, and waiting as best he could for succor from France.

It came speedily in the shape of Gen. Forey and twelve thousand men. Puebla was besieged and captured, and without further resistance and without waiting to give Juarez time to repair his losses, he hurried on to the City of Mexico, meeting everywhere an enthusiastic reception from the Imperial Mexicans who believed that the work of subjugation had been finished.

What the French do is generally done quickly. On the

17th of May, 1863, Puebla surrendered; on the 13th of May Juarez evacuated the capital; on the 10th of June the French took possession, and on the 16th Gen. Forey issued a decree for the formation of a provisional government. This new government assembled with great solemnity on the 25th of June. On the 2d of July they published an edict containing a list of two hundred and fifteen persons who were declared to constitute the Assembly of Notables, intrusted with the duty of providing a plan for a permanent government. On the 8th of July this body was installed in the presence of the French Commander-in-chief, and Count Dubois de Saligny, Minister Plenipotentiary of France. A committee was next appointed to draft a form of government, and on the 10th this committee submitted their plan to the Assembly, which was unanimously adopted.

These were its chief points:

1st—The Mexican Nation adopts for its form of government a limited, hereditary monarchy, with a Catholic Prince.

2d—The Sovereign will take the title of Emperor of Mexico.

3d—The Imperial Crown of Mexico is offered to His Imperial Highness, Prince Ferdinand Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, for him and his descendants.

4th—In case of any circumstances, impossible to foresee, the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian should not take possession of the throne which is offered him, the Mexican nation submits to the benevolence of Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, to indicate to her another Catholic Prince.

And thus was that government created which was so soon to set in misery and tears.

It is not generally known, but it is true, however, that as early as October 30th, 1861, Maximilian was offered the throne of Mexico and declined it. While expressing himself extremely grateful for the confidence reposed in his wisdom and moderation, and for the many sentiments of respect embraced in the letter containing the offer, he declared that he would first have to be assured of the will and co-operation of the country. And even when the French had conquered and occupied every

important place in the Empire, and after the Assembly of Notables had created a government and sent its deputation to notify Maximilian of his unanimous election as Emperor, he still lingered as if unwilling to tempt the unknown. Did some good angel come to him in dreams and whisper of the future? Who knows? *He* at least deserved such heavenly visit.

After he had accepted the second offer of the throne, and before his departure from Miramar, Maximilian sent a special messenger to Mexico bearing a communication to Juarez, which was written by Baron de Pont, his counsellor. It was dated Bellevue Hotel, Brussels, March 16th, 1864, and contained propositions to the effect that Maximilian did not wish to force himself upon the Mexicans by the aid of foreign troops, against the will of the people; that he did not wish to change or make for them any political system of government contrary to an express wish of a majority of the Mexicans; that he wished the bearer of the letter to say to President Juarez, that he, Maximilian, was willing to meet President Juarez in any convenient place, on Mexican soil, which President Juarez might designate, for the purpose of discussing the affairs of Mexico, in an amicable manner; and that doubtless an understanding and conclusion might be reached wholly in unison with the will of the people.

The gentleman bearing the letter went to Mexico, saw President Juarez, stated his mission, and gave him a copy of the communication. The President coolly answered that he could not consent to any meeting with Maximilian.

This was in March. In April, 1864, the newly chosen Emperor sailed away from Trieste—from his beautiful home by the blue Mediterranean—from the Old World with its luxury and its art—from a thousand memories fresh with the dawn of youth and sparkling in the sunshine of happiness—from the broad aegis of an Empire whose monarch he might have been—from a proud fleet created and made formidable by his genius—from the tombs of his ancestors and the graves of his kindred—and for what? To attempt an impossible thing. Instead of a civilized and Christian mon-

arch, the Mexicans needed missionaries. Instead of the graces and virtues of European culture and education, the barbarians required grape-shot and canister. Instead of plans for all kinds of improvements—for works of usefulness and adornment—the destroying vandals could be happy only with a despotism and the simple austerity of martial law. Poor Austrian and poor Emperor! Attempting to rule through justice and compassion, he seemed never to have known that for the work of regeneration he needed one hundred thousand foreign soldiers.

There can be no doubt of the enthusiasm with which Maximilian and his beautiful Empress were greeted when they landed at Vera Cruz. Indeed, from the sea to the great lakes about the capital, it was an ovation such as one seldom sees in a country where all is treachery, stolidity, brutality and ignorance. The fires of a joyous welcome that were lit at Vera Cruz blazed all along the route, and flared up like a conflagration in Paso del Macho, in Cordova, in Puebla, smoking yet from the terrible bombardment, and on the lone mountain Rio Frio—where, looking away to the north, they, for the first time, might have almost seen the great cathedral spire of Mexico looming up through the mist—that hoary and august pile, as old as Cortez, and bearing high up, under the image of a saint, Montezuma's sacrificial stone, having yet upon it the blood of the foreigner.

The omen was unheeded.

When Shelby arrived in Mexico, Maximilian had been reigning over a year. The French held all the country that was worth holding—certainly all the cities, the large towns, the mining districts, and the seaports. Besides the French troops, the Emperor had in his service a corps of Imperial Mexicans, and a small body of Austrian and Belgian auxiliaries. The first was capable of infinite augmentation, but they were uncertain, unreliable, and apt at any time to desert in a body to the Liberals. The last were slowly wasting away—being worn out as it were by sickness and severe attrition. The treasury was empty. Brigandage, a plant of indigenous growth, still flourished and grew luxuriantly outside every

garrisoned town or city. The French could not root it up, although the French shot everything upon which they got their hands that looked a little wild or startled. No matter for a trial. The order of an officer was as good as a decree from Bazaine. Thousands were thus offered up as a propitiation to the god of good order—many of them innocent—all of them shot without a hearing.

This displeased the Emperor greatly. His heart was really with his Mexicans, and he sorrowed over a fusillade for a whole week through. At times he remonstrated vigorously with Bazaine, but the imperturbable Marshal listened patiently and signed the death warrants as fast as they were presented. These futile discussions at last ended in an estrangement, and while Maximilian was Emperor in name, Bazaine was Emperor in reality.

With a soldier's quickness and power of analysis, Shelby saw and understood all these things and treasured them up against the day of interview. This was speedily arranged by Commodore Maury and Gen. Magruder. Maximilian met him without ceremony and with great sincerity and frankness. Marshal Bazaine was present. Count de Noue, the son-in-law of Gen. Harney, and the chief of Bazaine's civil staff, was the interpreter. The Emperor, while understanding English, yet preferred to converse in French, and to hold all his intercourse with the Americans in that language.

Shelby laid his plans before him at once. These were to take immediate service in his Empire, recruit a corps of forty thousand Americans, supercede as far as possible the native troops in his army, consolidate the government against the time of the withdrawal of the French soldiers, encourage emigration in every possible manner, develop the resources of the country, and hold it, until the people became reconciled to the change, with a strong and well organized army.

Every proposition was faithfully rendered to the Emperor, who merely bowed and inclined his head forward as if he would hear more.

Shelby continued in his straightforward, soldierly manner:

"It is only a question of time, Your Majesty, before the French soldiers are withdrawn."

Marshal Bazaine smiled a little sarcastically, it seemed, but said nothing.

"Why do you think so?" inquired the Emperor.

"Because the war between the States is at an end, and Mr. Seward will insist on the rigorous enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. France does not desire a conflict with the United States. It would neither be popular nor profitable. I left behind me a million men in arms, not one of whom has yet been discharged from the service. The nation is sore over this occupation, and the presence of the French is a perpetual menace. I hope Your Majesty will pardon me, but in order to speak the truth it is necessary to speak plainly."

"Go on," said the Emperor, greatly interested.

"The matter whereof I have spoken to you is perfectly feasible. I have authority for saying that the American government would not be adverse to the enlistment of as many soldiers in your army as might wish to take service, and the number need only be limited by the exigencies of the Empire. Thrown upon your own resources, you would find no difficulty, I think, in establishing the most friendly relations with the United States. In order to put yourself in a position to do this, and in order to sustain yourself sufficiently long to consolidate your occupation of Mexico and make your government a strong one, I think it absolutely necessary that you should have a corps of foreign soldiers devoted to you personally, and reliable in any emergency."

On being appealed to, Commodore Maury and Gen. Magruder sustained his view of the case and Shelby continued:

"I have under my command at present about one thousand tried and experienced troops. All of them have seen much severe and actual service, and all of them are anxious to enlist in support of the Empire. With your permission, and authorized in your name to increase my forces, and in a few months all the promises given here to-day could be made good."

The Emperor still remained silent. It appeared as if Shelby was an enigma he was trying to make out—one which interested him at the same time that it puzzled him. In the habit of having full and free conversations with Commodore Maury, and of reposing in him the most unlimited confidence, he would look first at Shelby and then at Maury, as if appealing from the blunt frankness of the one to the polished sincerity and known sound judgment of the other. Perhaps Marshal Bazaine knew better than any man at the interview how keenly incisive had been Shelby's analysis of the situation; and how absolutely certain were events, neither he nor his master could control, to push the last of his soldiers beyond the ocean. At intervals, the calm, immobile face would flush a little, and once or twice he folded and unfolded a printed despatch held in his hands. Beyond these evidences of attention, it was not known that Bazaine was even listening. His own judgment was strongly in favor of the employment of the Americans, and had the bargain been left to him, the bargain would have been made before the end of the interview. He was a soldier, and reasoned from a soldier's standpoint. Maximilian was a Christian ruler, and shrank within himself, all his nature in revolt, when the talk was of bloodshed and provinces held by the bayonet. His mind was convinced from the first that Shelby's policy was the best for him, and he leant to it as to something he desired near him for support when the crisis came. He did not embrace it, however, and make it part and parcel of his heart and his affections. Therein began the descent that ended only at Queretaro. After the French left he had scarcely so much as a bundle of reeds to rest upon. Those of the Austrians and Belgians spared by pestilence and war died about him in dogged and desperate despair. They did not care to die, only they knew they could do no good, and as Lieutenant Karnak said, when speaking for all the little handful, they saw the end plainer, perhaps, than any removed yet a stone's throw further from the finale.

"This last charge will be soon over, boys, and there won't be many of us killed, because there are so few of us to kill; but"— and he whispered it while the bugles were blow-

ing—"although we die for our Emperor to-day, he will die for us to-morrow."

When the rally sounded Karnak's squadron of seventy came back with six. Karnak was not among them.

The Emperor did not reply directly to Shelby. He rose up, beckoned De Noue to one side, spoke to him quietly and earnestly for some brief moments, dismissed his visitors pleasantly and withdrew. His mind, however, it appears, had been made up from the first. He was not willing to trust the Americans in an organization so large and so complete—an organization composed of forty thousand skilled and veteran soldiers, commanded by officers of known valor, and anxious for any enterprise, no matter how daring or desperate. Besides, he had other plans in view.

As De Noue passed out he spoke to Shelby:

"It's no use. The Emperor is firm on the point of diplomacy. He means to try negotiation and correspondence with the United States. He thinks Mr. Seward is favorably disposed toward him, and that the spirit of the dominant party will not be adverse to his experiment with the Mexicans. His sole desire is to give them a good government, lenient yet restraining laws, and to develop the country and educate the people. He believes that he can do this with native troops, and that it will be greatly to the interest of the American government to recognize him, and to cultivate with him the most friendly relations. At any rate," and De Noue lowered his voice—"at any rate, His Majesty is an enthusiast, and you know that an enthusiast reasons ever from the heart instead of the head. He will not succeed. He does not understand the people over whom he rules, nor any of the dangers which beset him. You know he once governed in Lombardy and Venitia, when they were Austrian provinces, and he made so many friends there for a young prince that he might well suppose he had some divine right to reign successfully. There is no similarity, however, between the two positions. A powerful army was behind him when he was in Italy, and a singularly ferocious campaign, wherein the Old Austrian Marshal Radetsky manifested all the fire and vigor of his

youth, had crushed Italian resistance to the earth. It was the season for the physician and the peace-maker, and the Emperor came in with his salves and his healing ointments. Singularly fitted for the part he had been called upon to perform, he won the hearts of all with whom he came in contact, and left at last universally loved and regretted. It is no use I say again, General, the Emperor will not give you employment."

"I knew it," replied Shelby.

"How?" and de Noue shrugged his shoulders.

"From his countenance. Not once could I bring the blood to his calm, benignant face. He has faith but no enthusiasm, and enthusiasm such as he needs would be but another name for audacity. I say to you in all frankness, Count de Noue, Maximilian will fail in his diplomacy."

"Your reasons, General."

"Because he will not have time to work the problem out. I have traveled slowly and in my own fashion from Piedras Negras to the City of Mexico—traveled by easy stages when the need was, and by forced marches when the need was, fighting a little at times and resting a little at ease at times, but always on guard and watching upon the right hand and upon the left. Save the ground held by your cantonments and your garrisons, and the ground your cannon can hold in range and your cavalry can patrol and scour, you have not one foot in sympathy with you, with the Emperor, with the Empire, with anything that promises to be respectable in government or reliable in administration. Juarez lives as surely in the hearts of the people as the snow is eternal on the brow of Popocatapetl, and ere an answer could come from Seward to the Emperor's Minister of State, the Emperor will have no Minister of State. That's all, Count. I thank you very much for your kind offices to-day, and would have given a good account of my Americans if king-craft had seen the wisdom of their employment. I must go back to my men now. They expect me early."

Thus terminated an interview that had more of destiny in it, perhaps, than the seeming indifference and disincli-

nation to talk on the part of the Emperor might indicate. The future settled the question of policy that alone kept the ruler and his subject apart. When the struggle came that Shelby had so plainly and bluntly depicted, Maximilian was in the midst of eight million of savages, without an army—with scarcely a guard—with none upon whom he could rely—abandoned, deserted, and betrayed. Was it any wonder, therefore, that the end of the Empire should be the dead wall at Queretaro?

PIONEER LIFE IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI

BY WILEY BRITTON

SIXTH ARTICLE

CHAPTER XXVII

A RECONNAISSANCE INTO SOUTHWEST MISSOURI

In view of the published reports that Newton and McDonald counties were a vast camp of Southern forces, I determined to mount my horse and ride home to father's, a distance of nearly two hundred miles, that I might persuade them to move to Kansas. This was the latter part of July; our crop was made; I could not dispose of it to advantage; but I could not think of doing anything else while I was so deeply disturbed by the distressed condition of my people at home in the midst of bitter enemies. After very little preparation I left Mr. Reed's and started on my journey south. At Mound City I saw a hundred or so recruits in camp who had recently enlisted in Colonel James Montgomery's Third Regiment Kansas Volunteer Infantry, then being organized for the service. The weather was warm and dry, and after passing Fort Scott I did not sleep in houses any more of nights, for the country on both sides of the State line was in a ferment on account of recent events, and the great military activity being displayed by the Union and Southern forces.

Sleeping in a ravine in the prairie south of Fort Scott, with my horse staked out near me, I rested and next day rode down the Military road, which was not more than three or four miles from the State line, until I came near to Spring River, when I took a dim road that led to Sherwood and Grand Falls. When darkness came on, I rode to a secluded spot where there was good grass, took the saddle off my horse, staked him out to graze, wrapped myself in my blanket with

my saddle for a pillow, and soon dropped off to sleep. In passing down the Military road I did not meet any one after leaving Dry Wood and Cox's Creek, as there was at the time a stretch of prairie of about twenty miles without a house in sight. The sun was getting low down on the horizon when I took the road leading into Missouri via Grand Falls, and I knew that I was getting into a section where I might at any moment meet with detachments of secessionists. It was not my wish to meet them or to be taken by them, for if they took me and found who I was, coming from Kansas at that time, I did not believe that I would fare well in their hands. On entering a skirt of timber just at dusk, several miles after leaving the Military road, I came to a log house by the road side, and seeing that the family was at home, rode up to make some inquiries as to whether I was on the right road to Grand Falls, and incidentally asked if there were any Southern soldiers in the neighborhood.

The woman with whom I was talking replied that Captain Livingston's company had just passed and was barely out of sight, going towards Sherwood, about three miles distant.

It was a time for caution, and as I rode along on the road in the same direction the men were marching, and in the dim twilight, at a turn in the road, perhaps half a mile in my front I saw the rearmost of the company pass out of sight.

Noticing a light in a window or from a camp fire, near where the men passed out of sight, I knew that I was near the village, and to avoid running into the hostile company, I at once left the main road and made a detour to the right, leaving the village about half a mile to the left and struck the road again beyond it. In the skirt of timber off the road where I stopped for the night, there was no sign of life around me, and it was so still that I could have heard horses' feet marching, for which I listened, half a mile away.

When at early dawn the sun's rays streaked the east, I was up; my horse saddled; he was much refreshed by rest and grazing, and I was prepared to hit the road again towards my destination.

It was Sunday morning, and I arrived at the Grand Falls about nine o'clock, and riding up to a house to make inquiries if there were any Southern forces in the neighborhood, saw Dr. W. I. I. Morrow, our family physician, coming out of the house of his daughter, Mrs. Scott, the owner of the mills there, and who, I soon found, was a staunch Unionist. The Doctor lived about three miles from my father; had been our family physician for years; was a man of considerable prominence in that section; had been the Indian Agent at the Quapaw Agency under Fillmore's Administration, and we regarded him as a good man of the highest sense of honor, and when I left home in the spring understood he was opposed to secession. As I had been away several months I did not know how he stood on the political issues as they were then developing; but I ventured to call to him to inquire about the situation in that section; whether I was in any danger, and whether there were any Southern forces at Neosho or in that vicinity. He seemed surprised to see me; indeed considerably excited, and we commenced to talk over the situation for only a few moments, as he said it would be dangerous for me to be seen there. His hair was white as snow; he always dressed neatly and wore a silk hat; he had the most beautiful and kindly expression of any man I ever saw, and he spoke to me kindly, calling me by my given name, and asked me what I was doing there. He told me that my father and brother James were hiding out in the thick wooded region near home to keep from falling into the hands of the secessionists; that the country, all that section, was full of Southern troops; that if it were not running too great a risk of being found there, he would have me come in and take breakfast; that the secessionists had every day been having wheat and corn ground into flour and meal at the mills, that some of them might come up at any moment; that he would suggest I take a by-road upon the north side of Shoal Creek to his home, about ten miles above, where I could tie my horse in the brush and get it fed and get something to eat myself; that if I took the Grand Falls and Neosho road, I would almost certainly meet a detachment of secessionists

and fall into their hands, and as they were bitter against our family, it might not go well with me; that his two sons, David and Barton, were at home and could perhaps tell me where my father and older brother were hiding out to avoid capture.

Hungry as I was from twenty-four hours fasting, and as much as my horse needed rest and food, the imminent danger the Doctor pointed out convinced me that I should comply with his advice at once. There was even danger of being intercepted on the by-roads by parties of secessionists riding over the country collecting supplies for the Southern army in Southwest Missouri, then preparing to move against the Federal forces under General Lyon at Springfield. As suggested by the Doctor I took the by-roads, and riding along leisurely, arrived at his home shortly after twelve o'clock, and making myself known to members of his family, I was received very cordially.

It is needless to say that I did full justice to that Sunday chicken dinner after my fasting, and when neither hunger more nor thirst remained unsatisfied, we adjourned to the back porch to talk over the stirring events in that section. The Doctor was not a slave owner, was probably opposed to slavery, but had not committed himself as an anti-slavery man, as my father had done, and while he had not taken any active part in favor of either the Union or secession cause, the Unionists claimed him. The two sons, David and Barton Morrow, were at home and trying to be neutral, but later proved their devotion to the Union by moving to Kansas. In the discussion I tried to point out to them that it would in my opinion be impracticable to hold to a neutral position very long; that neither party would respect their neutrality; that in a state of war all around them their lives would not be any safer than mine, and that their property would be as liable to seizure for war purposes as ours, which had already been taken by the Southern forces. They were excellent men, but wanting in aggressiveness in fighting a great wrong or in pleading for a great principle. They told how my father and brother had been obliged to leave their homes after the

Southern forces came into that section, and how their home had been watched by the secessionists, and gave me information how to find them where they were concealed in the woods.

The information indicated that they were not more than two or three miles away; but that it would be necessary for me to ride to several Union neighbors to find where they were being fed, and it was suggested that I wait until night to start out on the errand. There were about as many Unionists as secessionists in the neighborhood, and if my presence should become known it might make it impossible to carry out my plans of taking my father and brother to Kansas, and of making arrangements for the family to follow us later.

No time was to be lost, and as dusk was fading into darkness, I started out on the dim roads through the forests and soon found the family who were feeding father secretly, and made an appointment to meet him in a grove off the main road the next morning. After being warned of the danger of meeting passing parties of secessionists, I returned and staid at Dr. Morrow's that night, and the next morning after a short ride, met father as had been arranged, and then rode through the woods to the home of another Union neighbor who told us where to find my brother. When we found him we made arrangements to meet several of our trusted Union friends at the home of Mr. Riley, a staunch Union man who lived on Dr. Morrow's farm, for the purpose of discussing plans for an exodus of Unionists to Kansas at the earliest possible moment.

Colonel Sigel's force had been defeated and obliged to retreat from Carthage to Springfield; the mails had stopped and no longer brought news of what was going on in other parts of the country; the Union men were hunted and overawed and discouraged by the vast army of the Southern forces in Newton and McDonald counties, estimated as high as fifty thousand men, but actually perhaps upwards of twenty thousand, so that at the little gathering at Mr. Riley's, I tried to brace up our friends by telling them that the war was not going to be as one-sided as it seemed to them; that the Northern and Border States, and even Missouri, were

raising great armies that were at that moment marching to meet the Southern armies in conflict, and would no doubt give good account of themselves. After my little talk not one of the men present expressed himself as willing to accept Southern domination and drift along with the secessionists; but were in favor of going to Kansas where they would not be subject to the dangers and hardships to which they were then exposed, and where they would be free to enlist in the Union service if they desired.

When I explained to the little party of devoted Unionists how I could lead them out to Kansas in one night's ride where they would be practically out of danger, and how they could get to Fort Scott without running any great risk, I mounted my horse and rode to father's home about four miles distant, arriving there about ten o'clock. On arrival there the family had retired and were asleep; but after calling a few times succeeded in arousing them, some of the children asserting that they knew my voice, although they had not heard from me since leaving in the spring.

Our farm was on the State road from Carthage to Neosho, and our house half a mile east of that road, and I was warned before leaving Mr. Riley's that there might be a guard of the Southern forces at the place where the road to our house intersected the State road, so I rode along cautiously with strained attention, listening for horses feet striking the road, that I might be able to step aside in the darkness, should I hear any one approaching. Without meeting or hearing any one I passed the point of danger and arrived at home without incident; but when the family were aroused and saw who I was, they expressed much surprise and anxiety; talked scarcely above a whisper, for fear that I would be taken there, for they declared that the house had been watched and the road leading to it from the State road, guarded for two weeks. They did not think it safe to light a lamp, although I did want so much to see the faces of the two little brothers, Silas and Lane, five and three years old; but waiving the satisfaction it would have given me, my horse was taken and

hitched a hundred yards or so from the house where it could not be seen from the road.

We talked probably an hour over the situation; of the feasibility of the family moving to Kansas immediately; of the thousands upon thousands of the Southern troops occupying that section; of the probable conflict of these forces in a few days with the Federal forces at Springfield and vicinity; of the great danger of father and my older brother being captured or killed while hiding out and trying to keep out of the way of the secessionists, and then bid them good-by and rode back to Mr. Riley's for further conference in regard to leaving for Kansas that night. James W. Riley was an uncompromising Union man who had come to that section from Indiana a few years before the war, and his loyalty and devotion to our cause deserves all the affectionate praise I am able to give him.

After providing as the best he was able for his family, he left home late that fall, with nearly all the Unionists around him, and came to Fort Scott and enlisted in company H of our regiment, and was killed in a sharp skirmish with the enemy on Spring River below Carthage the next spring, March, 1862, while riding in advance with his company. He was a brave good man and fell gloriously in defense of the flag and cause he loved so well, leaving a widow and several children to mourn his loss.

After returning from home to Mr. Riley's it was arranged that I should meet another party of Unionists at Mr. Strickland's, some three miles below on Shoal Creek, and talk to them about going to Kansas as soon as practicable. On my arrival there I was introduced to several of the men, although I knew of them as living in the neighborhood where father preached; went over the situation with them; pointed out the danger of staying there too long, and told them that I was going to start back to Kansas that night with my father and oldest brother, who were present, and endeavored to persuade them to go with us. They were all men of families, and after hearing me were strongly in favor of going; but pleaded that they were not yet ready; that they must make

better provision for the care and comfort of their families before leaving.

To provide for the care of their families was commendable and touching; but I endeavored to point out and impress upon their minds the danger of staying there too long, for in my short interview with mother and members of the family, they told that a few days after the battle of Carthage, they had from a convenient place watched the Southern army pass on the State road from Carthage to Neosho, and that there were thousands upon thousands of men marching, requiring nearly two days to pass.

This mighty host was then in Newton and McDonald counties reorganizing and had out detachments of mounted men on all the roads and would make it difficult and dangerous for the Unionists to stay at home.

My father and brother, having heard my argument in regard to returning with me to Kansas at once, were convinced that it was the only rational course left open to them, visited their families during the earlier part of the night, to bid them good-bye; arrange for their care and comfort as well as they could, get some necessary clothing for their own use, and then joined me at Mr. Strickland's, where we would leave for Kansas.

All our plans having been carried out without any hitch, we bid our friends good-bye at Mr. Strickland's about eleven o'clock, mounted our horses and started for Fort Scott, plunging into the darkness on dim roads, with thoughts about danger ahead of us, and trouble for the families and friends we were leaving behind us. We were not very cheerful as we rode along in the darkness that night, discussing our possible capture by the enemy, which we thought would mean death; besides, we were thinking of the mental anguish of the families and friends whom we knew were greatly disturbed about the risks we were taking to reach our destination.

On leaving Mr. Strickland's that night I suggested that we should endeavor to strike the Military road from Fort Gibson to Fort Scott a few miles west of Medoc, a small

place of several houses in Missouri near the State line, after which we would not likely have any trouble in keeping on our course, or in meeting any detachments of the enemy.

This would take us nearly a due northwest course from where we started, and as it was a clear night, we knew we should bear constantly several degrees west of the Pole star, which served as well as a compass. It was our desire to pass into Kansas early in the morning to avoid meeting or being observed by any parties of secessionists who might be out scouting; but our road during the night did not always lead in the right direction and we did not get to the Military road until nearly ten o'clock. Having emerged from a skirt of timber about nine o'clock, and coming out upon the prairie, we saw three men mounted and armed advancing on a road that intersected ours some two hundred and fifty yards ahead of us where there was a well and where we must meet. This sudden and unexpected situation was embarrassing, for we were unarmed and at the mercy of the men, whom we did not know, and father expressed a fear that I had led our party into trouble, and while I could not deny it, I mustered all the courage possible to talk and appear cheerful to him and my brother.

We and the strangers arrived at the well about the same time, and after apeaking pleasantly to each other, they proposed to drink at the well, having tin cups, and invited us to join with them, to which we assented. They also had a couple of flasks of whiskey and invited us to take a drink with them, and we accepted the invitation, for we had rode all night and had not yet stopped to eat our lunches which had been prepared for us at Mr. Riley's, and thought that the stimulant would do us no harm. We talked a few moments about the general situation, and inquired about each other's movements without assuming a belligerent attitude, or expressing any views in regard to the issues of the war. They told us that they were kind of scouts looking out for marauders coming out from Kansas on stock-raiding forays, and we told them that we were looking for some stock that had got away from us, and which we had reason to believe were north

of that point. We did not talk much about the war; barely knew it was going on, and they did not ask us which side we were on, and we did not ask them which side they belonged to; but we learned afterwards that they were probably Union men, as there were a number of Union men in that neighborhood, some of whom enlisted in our regiment, and told of this incident. They rode off on a road that crossed ours, and we continued our journey and in a few miles entered the Military road to Fort Scott, congratulating ourselves that we had not been more seriously interrupted en route to our destination.

After getting on the Military road we had little apprehension of further trouble, as there was little travel on it at that time, and in that forty miles the road passed over part of what was known as the Neutral Lands, a strip of land fifty miles wide in Southern Kansas that belonged to the Cherokee Indians, and on which there were only a few settlers, most of whom claimed headrights.

CAPTURED BY FRIENDS

On entering the Military road we felt that we had passed beyond probable danger, and talked with lighter hearts, for at that time the secessionists were not making any raids into that part of Kansas. We and our horses were very tired and hungry, and we soon rode off the road to a point where we would not likely be seen from it, and where there was good grass, and unsaddled our horses and let them graze an hour or so, took our lunches and rested, first having scanned the horizon in every direction from a high point in the prairie to see if anyone was in sight. On resuming our journey we had open prairie before us and knew that the road over which Government wagon trains had been passing from Fort Gibson to Forts Scott and Leavenworth, for more than twenty years, would not be difficult to follow, as I had passed over it a few days before. After taking leave of our friends at the well, nothing of interest happened during our day's ride until we came to Cox's Creek, fifteen miles south of

Fort Scott, where there were quite a number of settlers, nearly all of whom were Unionists.

We were riding along just at sundown, we and our horses tired and hungry from constant exertion for nearly twenty-four hours, when we noticed several men to the right and in front of us, only two or three hundred yards away. Looking to see where the men we first observed came from, we saw on a hill a hundred or so yards to the right of the road, a large crowd of men, two or three hundred as we estimated, assembled as we knew for warlike purposes. They appeared to be in camp and were feeding their horses, and we saw at once that they were not uniformed, a fact which left us in doubt as to which side they were on. While we were discussing the situation we saw two or three men start down to the road to intercept and halt us and ascertain who we were. Having arrived so nearly to our destination in safety, father was feeling terribly perplexed over the situation, and said to me, "Son, I fear you have led us into trouble this time." To have so nearly reached an asylum of safety, and then to think that I had endangered the lives of my father and brother, caused me the greatest anxiety and mental anguish for a few moments. In the deepest distress I replied to him in an almost choked voice, "I hope not," and then looked again anxiously at the men on the hill to see if I could determine who they were and what they were doing. Finally I noticed a flag flying over them, and looking more closely I saw it was the Stars and Stripes, and turning to father said to him they must be our friends, for they have the Stars and Stripes, our flag, raised over them. Instantly father looked to the place where I pointed and seeing that I was right, said, "Well, we are lucky, if they are not using false colors."

While we were discussing the situation, the armed men we saw running down the hill to the road halted us and advanced near us, and after some conversation and being convinced that we were all right, invited us up to the camp, or fort, to share with them food for ourselves and feed for our nearly wornout horses, an invitation we gladly accepted. Our feelings of extreme depression changed immediately to

feelings of satisfaction; for we knew that the secessionists were bitter towards Unionists going to Kansas, and we believed that our fate would have been death or captivity if we had fallen into the hands of the enemy. These men who had captured us were all Unionists from Lawrence, Barton and Vernon counties, Missouri, and Neutral Lands, Kansas, who had collected there under Colonel Nathan Bray, a prominent lawyer of Mt. Vernon, Missouri, for purposes of defense and protection against attacks of independent bands of secessionists. But Colonel Bray was not acting under any regular orders that I heard of, and as there was no regular discipline, the men collected there soon commenced committing depredations on the secessionist citizens, which were not a credit to our cause, and which we could not indorse.

We stayed with the men under Colonel Bray, who were, with few exceptions, excellent, honest Union men, two or three days, and after seeing the trend of their conduct, we left them and rode to Fort Scott where we hoped to find a more orderly and correct view of the situation. Colonel Bray himself probably saw that the men were drifting into excesses which he could not control, and in a short time after our departure they disbanded, most of them enlisting in the Sixth Kansas Volunteers, then just commencing to organize at Fort Scott under authority from the War Department. At such a time of chaotic conditions, regular authority from some source and discipline is required to keep in check reckless characters who are certain to connect themselves with an irregular organization like that which had sprung up under Colonel Bray for protective purposes.

THE FAMILY ATTEMPTS TO MOVE TO KANSAS

Before leaving home father had arranged with mother to bring the family and all of his live stock, or as much of it as practicable, to Fort Scott, as soon as she could get everything in readiness.

In a week or so after we left the neighborhood, mother got everything as well as she could, consisting of household goods and provisions and clothing, packed into several wagons,

and with horses and cattle gathered up to drive along, and started to join us at Fort Scott. It was warm weather in August and the heat and dust made it difficult to drive forty to fifty head of cattle so as to keep up with the teams, and after two or three days of discouraging progress she arrived at Spring River, a distance of about twenty-five miles from home, where she met John C. Cox, a well-known citizen of Jasper county, who knew us.

She and the children were nearly tired out from the exertion and heat and dust, and Mr. Cox told her that she would not be able to proceed more than a mile or so when she would be turned back by the secessionists and her stock taken from her.

Mr. Cox was a Union man, but had not taken the positive and decided stand in regard to the war that our family had, and was able to stay at home without being molested by the secessionists.

Mother took his advice and immediately faced about and returned home to have nearly all of our stock, corn, wheat and hay taken from her that fall and winter by the secessionists when the Southern army under General Sterling Price was encamped about Neosho after his retreat from Lexington. At that early stage of the war, the secessionists in that section had not yet in many instances taken to such lawless acts as robbing a mother and her children while moving, as Mr. Cox suggested they would if she attempted to go further towards Kansas.

There was, however, greater animus against our family than others by the secessionists, on account of our well-known opposition to slavery before the war, and our decided stand against secession after the election of Mr. Lincoln as President.

The hardships would have been great; but mother would probably been able to have got through without serious trouble had she not met Mr. Cox with his discouraging advice, for if properly advised a few miles more en route would have taken her into Kansas, where she would not likely have met with opposition. Those who have passed their lives in

peaceable times, cannot realize the mental anguish many families suffer in times of war, particularly like our Civil War in Missouri.

Had we met with misfortune it would likely have been some time before our family would have heard of it, for none of our friends or neighbors who had left for Kansas were venturing to return home.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

If you don't know anything about Missouri music, you will be repaid for reading Professor Krohn's article in this *Review;* if you know something on this subject, you will read it without suggestion. Music plays an important part in life. It has always been necessary to the church and the theatre; it is found in some form in every home. A nation without music would be without one of the greatest assets in peace and war.

All have some appreciation of music, but few know anything regarding the history of music in their state. You will be surprised to learn the important contributions made by Missouri composers. This is especially true in the inspiring field of sacred music. Nor have Missourians neglected the broad divisions of secular compositions. The array of data compiled by Professor Krohn is surprising. It is a compliment to his unselfish industry and scholarship, and an asset of pride and worth to every Missourian.

"A Century of Missouri Music" represents work in an untilled field. Here is a subject that in some manner or other has concerned the life of each citizen in a commonwealth of nearly four million people. For the first time in our history is here presented a comprehensive view of that subject. The labor of research work was tremendous. It took months and even years to gather and compile the data. The readers of the *Review* are the first beneficiaries of this public service. The State of Missouri has found another treasure to cherish—intangible, perhaps, but lasting in fact and influence.

There are many points in Dr. Stevens' "The Missourian" which are worth re-reading and considering. Some of these have peculiar application today. Down to 1900 Missouri was the gainer from interstate migration. For twenty years there has been a net loss. Will this loss continue, or will

Missouri again attract more people than she will lose through the attraction of other states? Note the conservatism of Missouri and how this has been tempered from time to time by forward-looking leaders. Also note the individualism of the Missourian in government and in political theory and practice. Another sidelight worth considering is the wealth-survey of Missouri by a newspaper in 1886. This was made near the middle of the twenty-four year decline in prices (1873–1897) following the Civil war. Many economists and historians believe that a similar period will be entered shortly if it has not already had its inception. The survey in 1886 showed thrift and prudence among Missourians; wealth derived from cheap land and banking; politics cutting little figure in wealth accumulation; and "frequent, almost constant, reference to investment bonds." Read the entire article and underscore the points that are interesting and valuable.

"The Five Oldest Family Newspapers" by Miss Grace L. Gilmore carry an interesting message. Aside from the valuable facts set forth, are seen characteristics common to these successful journalistic businesses. Each stood independently and fearlessly for its principles. Each met obstacles without cringing through fear or fawning for favor. All had men at the helm who took pride in their leadership. Business acumen was not lacking, but public service came first. The five oldest family banks or mercantile establishments would probably reveal these same characteristics—independent judgment, fearless action, business acumen, and public service.

APPRECIATION.

The Missouri Historical Review is an invaluable publication to the historian who would sketch the development of the Great West. Every citizen, every teacher and every student interested in Missouri should take the *Review*. No state has a brighter record than Missouri, and to herald her annals should be the star number on the daily program of every ambitious citizen. The pioneers of Missouri were a courageous people—honest, noble and God-fearing. They have left behind them a golden trail. They succeeded because the foundation of their democracy was laid deep in

human love. The lives and achievements of such heroes will always remain an inspiration to all patrioitc, forward-looking men and women.—Loyd Collins, Clinton, Missouri, December 15, 1922.

The *Review* continues a most excellent publication—a credit indeed to everybody concerned. I just received Vol. XVI, No. 4. My subscription expires, I think, with this number. Permit me to hand you herewith one dollar to renew my subscription.—J. Christian Bay, Chicago, Illinois, August 22, 1922.

We of the *Republican-Record* appreciate the work which the State Historical Society is doing and if at any time we can be of assistaace to you our services are yours to command.—Chester K. Strong, Editor, *Republican-Record*, Carrollton, Missouri, December 13, 1922.

A year ago I became a reader of *The Missouri Historical Review*. I do not now see how I did without it for so long. Any series of the articles you have published is well worth the subscription price. I like it so well, I am handing you my check for my own subscription for 1923, and also for my friend and co-worker, Prof. G. A. Hoffman.—P. T. Harman, Vice-Pres. Southwest Baptist College, Bolivar, Missouri, December 11, 1922.

We get *The Missouri Historical Review* and enjoy it very much, and think The State Historical Society is doing an excellent work to interest people in our grand old state. With best wishes for its continued success, I am—Mrs. W. D. O'Bannon, Sedalia, Missouri, November 3, 1922.

Admirably edited and filled from cover to cover with sketches, essays and personalia of a most entertaining character, *The Missouri Historical Review* simply commands a reading. The variety of contents in this quarterly offers interest for any and all Missourians, and each new issue brings a new delight.

Especially well worth reading in the January issue are three articles, two on the Constitutional Convention and the editor's excellent paper on "Traditions Concerning the Missouri Question." The *Review* is published by the Missouri State Historical Society.—*The Fleur de Lis*, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri, April, 1922.

Mrs. George and myself greatly enjoy *The Missouri Historical Review*.—Thos. J. George, Harrisonville, Missouri, September 27, 1922.

I appreciate *The Missouri Historical Review* very much.—F. G. Jonah, St. Louis, Missouri, September 14, 1922.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has my hearty congratulations on making each issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* of increasing interest in its subject matter.—Enos Clarke, Kirkwood, Missouri, September 15, 1922.

The Missouri Historical Review. is most interesting, particularly to those of us whose memory reaches back to Missouri in the fifties and who knew by sight men who were then "old settlers".—Mrs. Rayland Todhunter, Lexington, Missouri, October 10, 1922.

The Missouri Historical Review has been coming to me regularly as editor of the *Press-Spectator* and I have enjoyed every number. The

various articles are very interesting and instructive. We often print extracts from articles and this week's issue has an extract from the article by Wm. Bek "When the Squirrels Invaded Missouri."—J. L. Ritzenthaler, Editor, Salisbury, Missouri, October 5, 1922.

Please find enclosed $1.00 for my annual dues and *The Missouri Historical Review*. I have never invested a dollar in my life that brought me so much for the money.—I. N. Evrard, Marshall, Missouri, September 18, 1922.

I greatly enjoy the *Review* and would not purposely allow my membership to lapse.—John C. Hogin, (Judge Tweltfh Judicial District Court of Kansas,) Belleville, Kansas, September 19, 1922.

MESSAGES AND PROCLAMATIONS OF THE GOVERNORS OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI

The State Historical Society has just completed the publication of the first three volumes (525 pages each) of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* covering the years 1820 to 1864. This work also includes an excellent illustration insert of each chief executive excepting Abraham J. Williams, and a biographical sketch of each by prominent Missourians of today. All official documentary material of a public nature issued from the governor's office is here set forth and classified. To a large degree these volumes give a summary view of Missouri's official history.

Much of the material set forth has heretofore not been available to the public. In fact difficulty was found even by the research worker in locating and transcribing many of the documents. The official sources were relied upon most but frequently unofficial sources alone furnished the material needed. The editors are Miss Buel Leopard, an employee of The State Historical Society until July 1, 1922, and Floyd C. Shoemaker. The edition is limited. The price is $1.25 a volume postpaid in Missouri, $1.35 a volume postpaid outside of Missouri. The Society will receive orders only for the complete set. It is the Society's purpose to continue this documentary series during 1923 and 1924, until all the messages and proclamations of governors have been published.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI

The Eleventh Biennial Report of the State Historical Society of Missouri, which has just been completed, gives some interesting information concerning the growth and progress of the institution. The net total of books and pamphlets in the Society's library has increased from 145,406 to 156,561. The Society ranked second in the Mississippi Valley in the field of historical publications issued during 1921 and 1922. The total membership of the Society during the biennium totaled 2,485, as compared with 1,685 during 1919–1920. These figures are indeed gratifying evidence of the interest in and the support being given to this institution by its members and friends.

Aside from its quarterly magazine, with which all members are familiar, the Society's greatest publication work during the biennium was the first three volumes of the Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Missouri. These three volumes embrace the period from 1820 to 1864. They contain all the messages, proclamations and related documents of Missouri's chief executives during the above years. Biographies and illustrations of the several governors are set forth. This valuable material, of which nearly all has been before practically inaccessible to the public, will prove to be of the greatest value to the citizens of the State. It really embraces a summary historical review of the State's official life. The Society proposes to complete the work down to date during 1923 and 1924.

The Newspaper and Periodical Department of the Society has grown during the past two years until, in the unfinished state of the library building, it has become a difficult problem to find shelving room for the bound volumes. The total number of bound volumes of Missouri newspapers and periodicals in the library is now 11,904, of which 1,026 volumes were bound during 1921 and 1922. The Society received 538 newspapers and periodicals during the biennial period. These came from 289 Missouri cities and towns and represent the 114 counties and the City of St. Louis.

Photostatic reproduction of the Library of Congress file of *The Missouri Republican* (St. Louis) has been completed, and the files of the St. Louis *Enquirer* from 1819 to 1825, and of the *Missouri Argus* (St. Louis) from 1835 to 1840, in the Library of Congress, have also been photostated for the Society.

During the next biennium and the years to come the Society hopes to continue to grow in size, in quality, in membership and in public service. The several thousand people who now read this magazine form a nucleus, around which this Society hopes to build a membership which will not only lead all other similar institutions in point of numbers, but will spread throughout the length and breadth of the State a historical consciousness that will redound to the glory and credit of this commonwealth and of the nation.

READ HISTORY

"Wonderful was Noah's ark, with all the animals, big and little, solemnly going in and solemnly coming out.

"Ten million times *more* wonderful is a good book of history. From that book come all the past, all the great men that inspire us, all the great criminals that warn us.

"A man with a good history is master of the past, he knows it. He is a judge of the future, he can foretell it.

"Nothing is simpler than history, well written, nothing more easily understood, nothing better for the mind that reads intelligently, nothing more stimulating to ambition, more worthy of eager youth and self respecting old age. Read good books, good books on history especially."—Arthur Brisbane. (From The St. Louis Star, July 2, 1922.)

One of Missouri's most successful bankers and landowners was asked recently what study he liked best. He replied, "History." His reasons were these: He was proud of his family, his community, his State, and his Nation. This pride was balanced, fortified, and satisfied best from reading history. Again, he wanted to know more about the achievements and failures of his people. He could best obtain this knowledge through history. Again, he felt that it was his duty as a citizen to honor his people and cherish their memory. History served best this duty. And finally, he profited most from the study of history.

This man is a Missourian. He is of the fourth generation on Missouri soil. He is in the prime of life. History to him is not the dust of ages but a study bearing culture, poise, knowledge, and profit. He conducts his bank for the service of his customers, and profits result. He manages his farms for the advancement and welfare of his tenants, and profits result. He knows the broad cycles of prices, business, and industry—all a part of history. He knows the broad trend of politics as related to price fixing, regulation, depression, and inflation,—all a part of history. He may *not* know the cross-currents of the future which will deflect or modify these general movements of the past, but he will at least be aware of these deflections early.

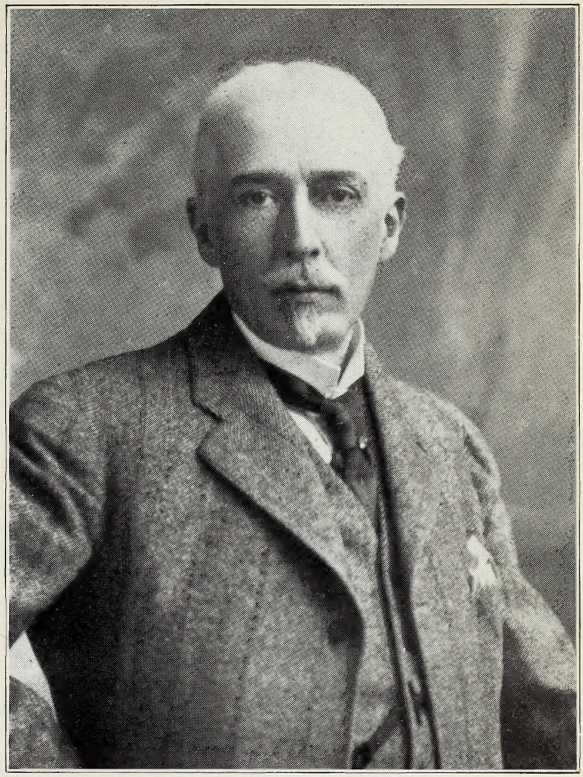
As a result of this man's training, study, and ideals, he pursues a successful life of even tenor. When others were fearful of conditions in 1920 and 1921, he through preparation in 1919 had set his house in order. His bank was equipped to render even greater service. Instead of his tenants losing profits accumulated during prosperous years, they increased those profits. Perhaps this man is too modest in appraising his ability and too loyal in evaluating history. Whichever is the cause of his success, detracts nothing from that success. He reads history to balance pride in his people, to acquire wisdom, to honor his citizenship, and to best serve his fellowmen.

CARROLL BECKWITH

BY GEORGE A. MAHAN

Mr. Carroll Beckwith was born in Hannibal, Missouri, on the 23d day of September, 1852, a block away from the boyhood home of Mark Twain, and on the same side of the same street. His parents, Charles Henry, and Martha Owen, were natives of New York State and had settled in Hannibal.

At the age of nineteen Carroll Beckwith decided to make art his profession and he studied at the National Academy of Design in New York City under Professor Wilmarth, until October, 1873. Being an unusually bright man, he progressed



Carroll Beckwith

rapidly. Leaving New York for Paris, France, he entered the studio of Carolus-Duran, subsequently studying also at the Ecole des Beaux Arts. During his stay in Paris he became acquainted with and a great friend of the celebrated portrait painter, John S. Sargent, and made many excellent paintings with great success, exhibiting the same at the Salon and obtaining recompenses from the Government National school. He visited Italy twice during this period and at once stood high with Italian artists. In 1878 he returned to America and opened a studio in New York City, confining his work to portrait painting. So well did he achieve that he was at once selected an instructor in the Art Students' League, in which service he continued with great benefit to this school for eighteen years. He became very noted as a portrait painter in America as early as 1879, his work being regarded as very remarkable for a man of his age. He was a leading member of the Society of American Artists, and was actively interested in the National Free Art League, being elected President of that Society.

He was a very active member of the Society of American Artists and the National Academy of Design, being elected Academician in 1894. His paintings received award at the Paris Salon in 1887 and 1900 and at the Atlanta, Georgia, Exposition in 1895. He was Chairman of Jury of Award at the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, in 1901; at Charleston Exposition, 1902, and at the Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904.

His portraits, which were always signed "Carroll Beckwith," hang in West Point Academy; Yale and Johns Hopkins Universities; New York Bar Association; Historical Society; City Art Museum, St. Louis; Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo; Union, Union League, City, Century, Calumet, Raquet and Players' Clubs, all of New York City. In the year 1910 and a part of 1911 he was in Rome. In the spring of 1912 he returned to America and continued his profession most successfully in New York City, at which place he died on the 24th day of October, 1917.

He was an unusually interesting and active personality

and intimately connected with the last third of a century of American art progress. He had a notable part in the various movements for the furthering of art, being greatly in demand both as an organizer and a lecturer.

He and Mark Twain, being from Hannibal, Missouri, became great friends in New York City and were frequently seen together. In a very short autobiography Beckwith wrote:—"In 1910 when I had a desire to go to Rome and settle for a time, I had a generous impulse to present a picture of the head of Mark Twain, which I had painted in the summer of 1890 at Onteora, to Hannibal, my birthplace, in commemoration of its most distinguished citizen." For some reason this was not done and the painting was purchased by Mark Twain's daughter, Madam Clara Gabrilowich. A reproduction of the same, of which there are only a very few, now hangs in the boyhood home of Mark Twain on Hill Street in Hannibal.

Mrs. Bertha Beckwith, the widow of Carroll Beckwith, remembering the desire of her husband, generously gave to Hannibal in his memory an oil painting of Paul du Chaillu, the noted African explorer, and in a letter said, "He was a dear friend of ours and Mr. Beckwith did this portrait for his own pleasure. It has been hanging in the Fifth Avenue Bank in New York City for safe keeping." The painting is a magnificent specimen of portrait work and is of great value. It now hangs in Hannibal's excellent public library building. Carroll Beckwith, by his native ability, untiring energy, and great achievement in art, has brought much distinction to Hannibal, his birthplace, the United States and the world at large.

He was gentle, refined, broadly learned and accomplished, and a most delightful and companionable man. The stately old home in which he was born still stands in a fine state of preservation. The thriving city of Hannibal, so well located on beautiful hills and along delightful valleys, with its highly cultivated people, has given to the nation men who have achieved wonderfully well in literature and art.

JOHN BARBER WHITE

By Walter B. Stevens

What a night that was, the eighth of January, the centennial of Missouri's petition for admission to the Union of States! John Barber White presiding over the candle-lighted tables whereon the pioneer dinner had been served. He was in fine fettle. His apt comments and genial humor made the hours seem all too brief. Judge John Finis Philips told the story of a hundred years of the Missouri bar. Others sketched a century of Missouri this and that. But the central personality of the historic occasion was John Barber White. Missourians who sat through the spell will carry the memory of Captain White as he was that night.

Captain White? "Years ago," he said, "I built a summer home in the Ozarks. It had two chimneys. Other houses around had only one. The mountain folk began calling me 'captain,' and as summer colonists came, many of them from Kansas City, the name stuck. The title was won through smoke, but not the smoke of battle."

The business world knew this man as a captain of industry—one who had through many years shown exceptional quality of leadership and power of organization. Four Presidents of the United States, representing both of the great political parties, had taken counsel with John Barber White, had recognized his ability, had trusted him. Yet he never sought political preferment. Few people knew to what extent these Presidents took the advice of Captain White and reposed confidence in him.

And this man of great affairs, of intimate association with national personalities, had another side, a side without sharp angles, a love for local history, the history of his Missouri Valley, of his Missouri State, of his Kansas City. Nine years as president he gave time and financial support to the upbuilding of the Missouri Valley Historical Society, making it one of the institutions in which Kansas City has come to have no little pride. Those who had the privilege of meeting

Captain White in his spacious homelike home on Thirty-sixth Street marveled as they went up the stairway to the great library with its array of thousands of volumes. There was no private library in Missouri equaling this in many respects. Genealogists ranked Captain White's collection as next to that of the Newberry Library in Chicago, in their specialty. John Barber White was not the patron merely; he was the student, the delver, the historian.

THE MCNAIRS IN ST. CHARLES COUNTY

The following communication from Mr. Ben L. Emmons of St. Charles calls attention to the following historical facts concerning the relationship of the McNair family with St. Charles County:

The records show names of Alexander, David and Robert McNair, who I presume were brothers. David married Mary Flaugherty, a daughter of James Flaugherty, one of the first members of the Court of Common Pleas.

I am inclined to believe that all three of the McNairs lived here at one time. The first appearance of Alexander was in 1806, when he purchased City Block No. 18 of Angelica, the widow of Landroche Roy. This deed is dated March 20, 1806.

By decree of the Court of Common Pleas of St. Charles, upon petition of the Inhabitants hereof, the Town of St. Charles was incorporated Nov. 2, 1809 and Alexander McNair and Dr. Antoine Reynal were appointed Commissioners.

This would indicate that Alexander was an inhabitant of the town of St. Charles at that time.

Alexander appears as a land owner here from 1807 to 1820. The first deed of record from him and wife Margaret S., was executed in 1814 and ackowledged in St. Louis, Mo.

The residence occupied by McNair, while Governor, is still in existence and is situated on the northwest corner of Second and Decatur Streets.

The lot or block referred to above was known as the "Tan Yard." On adjoining block, the one on which "Blanchette" the founder of St. Charles located and erected the first Government buildings, David McNair erected the first ice house.—Ben L. Emmons, St. Charles, Mo., Nov. 28, 1922.

A MISSOURIAN IN CALIFORNIA SENDS VALUABLE DATA

This letter and the accompanying historical data was received from Mr. Leo L. McCoy, of Red Bluff, California, dated November 28, 1922. Its value warrants reproduction and preservation. Mr. McCoy is a member of The State Historical Society of Missouri and will make further contributions to the *Review*.

In recent issues of papers published at Kahoka, Clark county, and LaGrange, Lewis county, I noticed that you had been in that section of Missouri gathering early historical matter for later publication in the *Missouri Historical Review*. I am a regular subscriber to both those papers, having taken the LaGrange paper regularly for more than fifty years.

I graduated from La Grange College, then under the presidency of Dr. J. F. Cook, in June, 1872. Other members of my class were Dr. John P. Greene, some thirty years president of William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo., Hon. John M. Wood, for many years a prominent attorney of St. Louis, once Attorney-General of Mo., Professor D. B. Jeter, for many years a prominent educator of northeast Mo., (now deceased) and Hon. Sam Woods, for many years a prominent attorney of Quincy, Illinois (now deceased). Mr. Woods was an early advocate of prohibition and many years ago was a candidate for congress on that platform. Hon. R. M. Wallace, for several years owned and edited a good paper at La Grange; represented Lewis county in the Legislature; served ten years or longer as chief clerk of the committee of agriculture at Washington under Congressman Hatch. Mr. Wallace and his good wife, who is also a Missourian, recently celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary at their home, Alhambra, California.

My grandfather, Captain Joseph McCoy and Mary Ann Lewis were married at Lexington, Kentucky, March, 1816 and immediately took their saddle horses and rode to St. Louis, Mo., where they settled. My father Joseph McCoy, Jr., was born at or near there March, 1823. In 1835 my grandfather settled in what is now Clark county, then a part of Lewis county. He was there when the county was organized and was the first county treasurer. He settled, lived and died about two and a half miles east of Waterloo, where I was born August 1, 1850. When you were in Clark county you perhaps learned of the old historic town of Waterloo. For many years it was the county seat.

I will not burden this letter with more of personal history, but come to the point which prompted me to write.

In the La Grange paper of October 19th it was announced that you were desirous of facts and figures of farm products and merchandise of

the early days of Missouri, and I believe requested those who had old journals of dates prior to 1880 to kindly send them in.

I happen to have at hand an old journal or day book, of my grandfather, Joseph McCoy, who in the early forties had a store in Waterloo, Clark county. I have very carefully gone over that old book for the months of June, July and August, 1841 and copied a long list of a variety of articles and prices as therein entered. Some of these articles seem to have varied so much in price, at first thought you might think I had carelessly made mistakes. But I have been very careful to record prices as there entered. The writing is bright and legible so the copies I have made are correct as entered. For example there is quite a wide range in the price of broadcloth. One thing is a great surprise to me that men of that day, in so new and sparcely settled a section as that, had the money or pride, to buy so much silk and high-priced articles, especially buying fur caps at from eight to fifteen dollars and that in July and August and other fine hats at about seven dollars.

Kindly remember me to my old friend, Col. William Pike Moore and his good wife. I was present at their wedding.

Taken from the Day Book of Captain Joseph McCoy, Waterloo, Clark county, Missouri, in the months of June, July and August, 1841.

12	yards of broadcloth	$10.00	$120.00
15	yards of jeans	2.50	37.50
20	yards of merino	1.25	25.00
20	yards of French calico	.50	10.00
1	yard of silk velvet	7.00	7.00
3	yards of broadcloth	7.50	22.50
12	yards of broadcloth	8.00	96.00
20	yards of jeans	1.50	30.00
1	yard of silk velvet	7.50	7.50
4	yards of Irish linen	1.25	5.00
8	yards of calico	.50	4.00
4	yards of fine cassimere	4.00	16.00
1	fur cap	12.00	12.00
7	yards of silk	1.00	7.00
1	hat	7.00	7.00
1	vest pattern	5.00	5.00
1	pair boots	7.00	7.00
1	fur hat	6.00	6.00
8	yards of satinet	2.00	16.00
1	fine hat	7.00	7.00
2	skeins silk	.06	.12
3	yards of casinet	1.50	4.50

4	yards of domestic	$ .20	$ .80
4	yards of bleached domestic	.25	1.00
16	yards of calico	.25	4.00
1	pocket handkerchief	1.50	1.50
1	silk neck handkerchief	2.50	2.50
2	yards of broadcloth	5.00	10.00
8	yards of painted muslin	.75	6.00
8	yards of bleached sheeting	.25	2.00
3	yards of twilled cotton	.25	.75
4	yards of domestic cotton	.20	.80
8	yards of casinet	2.00	16.00
1	pair boots	6.00	6.00
1	pair socks	.50	.50
1	pair ladies slippers	1.75	1.75
3	yards of cassimere cloth	4.00	12.00
8	yards of flax linen	.50	4.00
5	yards of flannel	.75	3.75
20	yards of domestic	.18	3.60
1	hat	6.00	6.00
1	pair boots	6.00	6.00
100	yards of domestic	.12	12.00
20	yards of flannel	.50	10.00
3	yards of cloth	5.00	15.00
2½	yards of cloth	7.00	17.50
1	fine cap	7.00	7.00
1	pair boots	5.00	5.00
6	yards of lace	.50	3.00
16	yards of black silk	1.00	16.00
1	bonnet	3.00	3.00
4	yards of ribbon	.50	2.00
8	yards of silk	1.25	10.00
8	yards of merino	1.00	8.00
1	vest pattern	9.00	9.00
1	fine cap	15.00	15.00
2	pair pumps	1.75	3.50
1	shawl	5.00	5.00
8	yards of casinet	2.50	20.00
16	yards of calico	.40	6.40
8	yards of domestic cotton	.15	1.20
16	yards of painted muslin	1.00	16.00
1	vest pattern	2.00	2.00
1	fur cap	5.00	5.00
1	bonnet	1.00	1.00
2	yards of broadcloth	7.00	14.00
2	yards of Irish linen	1.50	3.00

1	pair shoes	$2.00	$2.00
1	fur cap	10.00	10.00
16 yards of	calico	.37	5.92
1	pair calf skin boots	7.00	7.00
1	fur cap	5.00	5.00
4 yards of	ribbon	.06	.24
1	black satin vest pattern	.....	3.50
1	satin vest	.....	4.00
1	black neck handkerchief	.....	2.00
1	merino handkerchief	.....	2.00
8 yards of	painted muslin	1.00	8.00
1 yard of	silk velvet	9.00	9.00
1½ yards of	black satin	4.00	6.00
1	makinaw blanket	7.00	7.00
1	fine cap	10.00	10.00
8 yards of	Irish linen	1.50	12.00
1	vest pattern	8.00	8.00
1	geography and atlas	1.25	
1	arithmetic	.50	
1	grammar	.75	
1	reader	.75	
½ dozen	slate pencils	.12	
2 quires	paper	.75	
1	bible	1.25	
1	set of books	12.00	
1	set of books	15.00	
1	dictionary	3.00	
1	bottle ink	.25	
1	sack salt	3.50	
1 pound	tobacco	.50	
1	saddle	30.00	
1	brass kettle	2.00	
1	plane	2.50	
1	plow	12.00	
10 pounds	sugar	.10	1.00
10 pounds	rice	.25	2.50
10 pounds	nails	.10	1.00
1 pound	tea	1.25	1.25
20 pounds	coffee	.20	4.00
1 pound	starch	.25	.25
½ pound	salaratus	.....	.12
1	drawing knife		1.25
100 pounds	iron	.09	9.00
5	saddle trees	1.50	7.50
2 sides of	harness leather	4.00	8.00
1	ax	.....	1.50

1	razor	.....	$2.50
1	pen knife	.....	1.25
1	saddle and bridle	.....	30.00
1	blanket	.....	2.00
1	side of leather	.....	2.50
1	iron vice	.....	6.00
1	pair bellows	.....	7.00
2	pounds powder	$1.25	2.50
50 lbs.	nails	.12	6.00
50 lbs.	lead	.12	6.00
10	gallons brandy	1.50	15.00
1	box raisins	4.00	4.00
1 lbs.	cheese	2.00	2.00
50 pounds	of castings	.06	3.00
1	wooden bucket	.....	.75
3	augurs	.50	1.50
4	bridle bits	.40	1.60
2 sides	harness leather	3.00	6.00
2	stone jars	1.25	2.50
1 bag	shot	.....	2.50
1 set	knives and forks	.....	1.00
1 set	plates	.....	3.00
1 set	cups and saucers	.....	.37
1	tea pot	.....	1.25
1	sugar bowl	.....	.50
1	wash bowl	.....	.50
1	salt cellar	.....	.25
1	slate	.....	.50

LEO L. McCOY,
Red Bluff, California,
November 1st, 1922.

These articles of country produce were turned into the store of Captain Joseph McCoy, at his store in Waterloo, Clark county, Mo., during the months of June, July and August, 1841.

12 pounds of butter	.12	$1.20
100 pounds of pork	.03	3.00
100 pounds of beef	.03	3.00
1 load of timothy hay	.....	5.00
1000 shingles	.....	8.00
100 feet pine plank	.....	4.00
300 pounds flour	2.50	7.50

4000 shingles	$4.00	$16.00
75 pounds beef	.03	3.00
100 pounds pork	.05	5.00
4000 brick	4.00	16.00
One day teaming	.....	2.00
20 bushels of wheat	.50	10.00
100 pounds pork	.04	4.00
8 bushels potatoes	.25	2.00
5 pounds tallow	.12	.60
One book	.....	1.50
One bridle	.....	2.00
One ton of hay	.....	5.00
200 bricks	.75	1.50
One load of hay	.....	4.00
200 pounds pork	.02	2.00
5 bushels of corn	.25	1.25
100 brick	.50	.50
One day hauling	.....	1.50
400 feet of plank	1.50	6.00
20 bushels of corn	.25	5.00
For keeping one horse four weeks	1.50	6.00
For building one chimney	.....	6.00
10 bushels of oats	.25	2.50
One load of timothy hay	.....	8.00
For two days hauling	2.00	4.00
Horse hire one day	.....	1.00

CORRECTIONS ON A CENTURY OF MISSOURI ART

By J. S. Ankeney

Clerical errors in the first article on this subject appearing in the July number of this *Review* call for the following changes:

Facing page 482, the title of Plate 2 should be "Yosti House," instead of "Yost," and also in footnote 3.

On page 486, line 9, omit the comma between the words "and" and "habits."

Page 488, line 3, change "Pantheon" to "Parthenon."

Page 490, line 3, change "Breek" to "Greek."

Page 493, line 19, change "important" to "imported."

Page 494, last line, omit the first comma after the word "columns."

Page 496, line 8, change "courthouse" to "Corinthian."

Page 499, line 8, change "Dr. Johnson" to "McElhiney."

Page 500, line 10, omit comma between "first" and "Lindell."

Page 501, line 21, "Renaissance" instead of "Rennissance."

COMMUNICATION

This interesting letter (dated December 4, 1922) was received from Mr. Douglass Stewart, of Chillicothe, Missouri.

I noticed in the last issue of the *Historical Review* an interview you had with Mr. R. B. Price of Columbia, and my attention was particularly called to the Johnson family spoken of by Mr. Price on page 24. I have never had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Price, although each of my children has spoken many times about him to me. I do not know whether they did banking business with him while attending University or not, but through them his name has become very familiar to me.

You may show him this letter. It may be of interest to him to know what became of the Johnson family. Adamantine Johnson was an old man when he was appointed cashier (First National) of the bank here at its organization. He died some years ago, leaving the following children: Dr. Adamantine Johnson, who lives at Watson, Missouri; Dr. Robert Fisher Johnson, who lives at Enid, Oklahoma; a daughter, Emma Maud Morrison, living in New York City; another daughter, Pocahontas Dulaney, Kansas City, Missouri; another daughter, Miss Sue A. Johnson, living at Kansas City, Missouri; a son, Novazembla Johnson, who lives here and has a daughter, the wife of Mr. M. E. Perryman, who is employed in the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri.

I knew all of the older Johnsons except Novazembla. Mr. Novazembla Johnson, who resides here, tells me that his mother through her mother, Hariette Monroe, a niece of President James Monroe, claimed relationship to Pocahontas. Now, that's how the name Pocahontas came into the family. You may say to Mr. Price that this is one of the best families of people we have ever had in this part of the state.

CORRECTION

Allow me to call your attention to a great historical slip in an article in the latest issue of the *Review*. The slip is not yours but is found in the article on early Baptist history (pp. 106–107). If it had said—"Which is the oldest Baptist Church in the County," instead of the *State*, the statement would have been true to the history. But there are, or were, twelve or fifteen Baptist churches in Missouri before the organization of the one that it was memorializing, and many of them are still in existence and are active, prosperous churches today. Bethel Church in Cape Girardeau county was the first church, and it lived to be mother of several churches, but was merged in the First Church of Jackson, one mile and a half north of its original location in 1824. The oldest church still living, is the Fee Fee Church, St. Louis county, and is recognized by the Baptists as the oldest as it is still an active church. It was the second in organization and dates from 1807.—R. P. Rider, Liberty, Missouri, December 5, 1922.

FROM CASS COUNTY

In the *Cass County Democrat* (Harrisonville) of December 7, 1922, appeared this article. The editor, Mr. Homer J. Clark, has always been an advocate of the study and preservation of State history and a supporter of The State Historical Society.

From the State Historical Society of Missouri, comes an appeal for recruits for the Society, and it is an appeal that not merely hundreds, but thousands, of Missourians should be happy and proud to answer.

The State Historical Society, with 2,200 members, now ranks as second in membership among the 48 states of the Union. The Society is now making an especial effort to establish itself as first in the United States, in the point of active membership. It should be the easiest thing in the world to put over. There is not a newspaper editor in the state, not a public official of enough consequence to deserve the name, not a member of any Literary Club worthy of the name or a school teacher seriously attached to the profession, who should not be a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

There is nothing, at all, complicated about breaking into this Society; no petitions to be filled out and the result of the ballot thereon to be awaited; no initiation fee; no red tape entanglements to sever; all anybody has to do is to send a dollar to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, at Columbia, Mo., with the statement that enrollment is desired in the Society for a year. If you ever get in, you'll never want out, and each year, thereafter, you will gladly remit your dollar to retain your membership.

To each member of the Society is sent the quarterly magazine, "The Missouri Historical Review," which contains articles of interest and value to everybody who takes pride in the state's political, social, economic and cultural development. During the years 1920 and 1921, The Review contained 1,249 pages of reading matter, on Missouri and Missourians.

At Columbia, the Society has assembled a historical library of 145,679 volumes, including more than 11,000 volumes of Missouri newspapers, dating from 1819 to the present. Any citizen in the state has access to this library, at will, and, for those who are unable to make direct use of the library, and who desire information on state history, the Society cheerfully furnishes the data. Its correspondence now amounts to 10,000 letters a year.

There is no real good reason why the Society should not have a membership of 20,000 or 25,000 in the state. There is no good reason why it shouldn't have a membership of 200 or 300 in Cass county, instead of the 20 or 30 it does have. If there are any of our Cass county friends, who wish to join, and are too timid, too bashful, or too lazy to send their dol-

lars and requests in to Mr. Shoemaker, if they will bring their dollars to the *Cass County Democrat* office, we shall be glad to give them receipts, and will forward their fees to the State Historical Society. Now, don't all you Literary Clubs in Harrisonville try to stampede the office force with your subscriptions.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXT BOOKS

COMPILED BY J. WILLARD RIDINGS

THE REAL MEANING OF THE WORD "MISSOURI"

From *The Kansas City Star*, August 27, 1922.

Did you ever wonder where Missouri got its name? The following, reprinted from the Boonville, Mo., *Democrat* of October 22, 1897, at the time Col. William F. Switzler was the editor, explains it:

Among certain classes of thinkers, historians and writers there has always existed some controversy respecting the meaning of the word "Missouri" and the proper, or preferable, pronunciation. . . . Quite a large number of our historians and newspaper writers have taught the people to believe that the word "Missouri" as applied to our great river means "muddy water."

We are well persuaded that this is an error, the history of which may be thus briefly stated: After the discovery of the Upper or Northern Mississippi River by Marquette and Joliet at the mouth of the Wisconsin on June 17, 1673, these two explorers called the great river which stretched away hundreds of miles south to an unknown sea, "Conception." Surrendering their frail bark canoe to the swift current of the broad river now known in all languages as the Mississippi, they descended to the mouth of the Illinois, and then to the mouth of the Missouri, which Marquette named "Pe-kit-a-noui," an Indian name which means "muddy water." To this fact, we think, can reasonably be referred the popular error that "Missouri" means "muddy water."

The name given the river by Marquette prevailed until Marest's time (1712) when it was called "Missouri," from the fact that a tribe of Indians known as "Missouris" inhabited the country at the river's mouth, the same probably now embraced within the limits of St. Louis county.

"Missouri" does not and never did properly mean "muddy water," but "Wooden Canoe." It belongs to the Illinois dialect of the Algonquin Indian language, the language which was generally spoken (as maintained by many historians) by the various aboriginal tribes between the Mississippi River and Delaware Bay. Discussing this subject some years ago, the Brooklyn *Eagle* maintained that it is not very difficult to gather support for the definition and derivation of the word Missouri. Among

the Indians of Maine a boat or canoe was called "A-ma-Sui." With the Narragansetts it was "Ma-shu-e;" with the Delawares it was "Ma-sho-la"; with the Miamis about Lake Michigan it was "Mis-so-la"; with the Illinois tribe it was "Wic-wes-Missuri" for a birch bark canoe, and "We-Mis-su-re" for a wooden canoe or canoe fashioned from a log of wood. The name "Missuris" or "Missouri" was originally applied by the Indians of Lake Michigan region to the tribe of Indians living west of the Mississippi and along the shore of the Missouri. The term meant, "The people who use wooden canoes." The Lake Michigan Indians used birch bark canoes, as did Marquette and Joliet in their descent of the Wisconsin to the "Conception," while the Indians on the Muddy River used canoes dug out of logs because the birch bark canoes were too frail for the navigation of that turbulent stream.

The first reference to the Missouris tribe of Indians made by a European was by Marquette, in a letter written in 1670 to La Mercier, his father superior, as Indians "who use canoes of wood." On Marquette's map appears the name and location of the "Ou Messoure."

HE HEARD BENTON SPEAK.

From Liberty *Advance*, March 27, 1922.

Reading an article in your paper about the great Missouri statesman, Thomas H. Benton, revived a half-forgotten incident of my early years. Senator Benton was advertised to speak at Weston, Platte county. I was about 14 years of age, but had a consuming desire to see and hear Mr. Benton.

I had heard my father talk so much about him and point so often to him as a shining example for young men to imitate. My father was an old-time Clay and Doniphan Whig, but he clung to Benton until his death. I have since thought that each being from the "Old North State" may have had something to do with his case.

I rode horseback twenty miles on the hot summer day to hear the speech. Mr. Benton delivered his address in a grove near the old Wells homestead, just outside the city limits. He was a large man, tending to stoutness. He wore a black alpaca coat, a standing collar and a stock necktie, which were common in those days. Mr. Benton had a strong face and though his voice was not musical, it was clear and his enunciation so perfect that all in that vast audience could have heard every word distinctly.

I was too young to appreciate or understand much that he said about state and national affairs, but some things he said I can recall at this far hour. At one stage of the address he said:

"Ladies and gentlemen—we learn from history that there was a time when we had Christ and anti-Christ. Now we have Benton and anti-Benton."

He then proceeded to flay the anti's to the queen's taste.

At another time he said: "I love the old Whigs. They meet me face to face and shake hands with me, when I know and they know they will not vote for me. But these antis flee at my approach, or steal 'round behind me, eager to see or hear something on which to base their monumental lies."

Further along in his address he said: "Ladies and gentlemen—down in the city of St. Louis there is a great manufactory (with a wave of the hand); of course there are so many manufactories down there, but this is a manufactory of lies. I refer to the *Missouri Republican.*"

At another time he said: "Out in northeast Missouri, at the city of Palmyra, there is an infant sheep who runs an anti-Benton newspaper. He calls himself Lamb."

I have learned since there was a man by that name who published a very vigorous anti-Benton newspaper during that campaign. The withering sarcasm and manner with which Benton said these things was something never to be forgotten.

Mr. Benton impressed me as the greatest man I had ever seen. He spoke in rather a conversational tone and made no apparent effort at oratory. Yet for more than three hours he held the close attention of that vast audience to the end.

At night, James N. Burnes, then a rising young lawyer, spoke in reply from the balcony of the hotel to a crowded street below. I cannot now recall anything he said except this—"No human, unless possessed of the colossal egotism of Mr. Benton, could compare himself to the Savior of the world."

At Palmyra they tell of an amusing incident that illustrates Benton's readiness in meeting embarassing situations. A list of questions was prepared by some lawyers to heckle Mr. Benton. But each refused to present them. A rather noisy young county politician was induced to take the job.

Mr. Benton was well along in his speech when this young man arose, and, in a loud voice, said: "Mr. Benton, I desire to ask a question."

The speaker paused a moment, then, pointing his finger straight at the young man, said in thundering tone: "I don't know you, sir. Who are you, sir?"

"My name is Hendrin."

"Well, Mr. Hendrin, just let our acquaintance cease right there, sir."

Mr. Hendrin took his seat and no further interruption was tried.

Fayette, Mo. T. K. G.

TEXAS COUNTY HISTORY.

From the Houston *Herald*, August 25, 1921.

The territory now known as Texas county has been attached to several Missouri counties in territory and state. In 1812 it was a part of Cape Girardeau county. In 1813 it became a part of Washington and Cape Girardeau counties; in 1818, a part of Franklin and Wayne counties; in 1821, a part of Gasconade and Wayne counties; in 1829, a part of Crawford and Wayne counties; in 1831, a part of Crawford and Ripley counties; in 1833, a part of Crawford, Greene, Ripley and Pulaski counties; in 1837, a part of Pulaski and Shannon counties; in 1843, a part of Ashley county, which was attached to Shannon; in 1845, organized as a separate county. In 1855 a part of Texas county was given to Dent county and in 1870 a part of Douglas county was attached to Texas. The present boundaries were adopted in 1872, with a small correction in the Wright-Texas county line.

The territory now known as Texas county was first permanently settled about 1816. Saw mills were established early and the Piney river was used to raft lumber to market. Among the earliest saw mills were those of Pettit, McDonald and Sullens. In 1826 Danbey Lynch settled in Texas county and found saw mills in operation by Josiah H. Burkhart, Thomas Cork, Richard Sullens, John Ormsby and others.

February 14, 1845, the county of Texas was established by act of the Missouri Legislature. February 20, 1845. Governor John C. Edwards commissioned the following as the first county officials: James R. Gardner, Henry F. Ormsby and David Lynch, county judges; William C. Skinner, county clerk; Asa Ellis, assessor; Cyrus H. Frost, sheriff.

The first election was held in August, 1846. David Lynch, David B. Commons and James M. Dougherty were elected county judges; Cyrus H. Frost, sheriff; Willis G. Jones, assessor. The first term of the county court was held at Ellsworth in April, 1845. Cornelius B. Lynch was appointed treasurer.

M. A. Staton and others presented a petition asking the court to appoint a commission to locate a site for the county seat. James Tunnell, of Wright county, Samuel H. Grigsby, of Pulaski, and John Bedford, of Shannon, were appointed as the commission. A forty-acre tract was secured and the present site of Houston was chosen as the county seat. John T. Fourt was appointed county seat commissioner. The contract for building a court house was awarded to James G. Sweeney in 1847, and J. R. Gardner was appointed superintendent of building. The court house was completed and accepted in December, 1847, and at that time the first session of the court in Houston was held.

The court house burned in 1850. A brick court house was then ordered by the court, to be 35 x 45 feet, and Allen Hamer bought the

building contract for $550. This building was completed in December, 1851. During the time of construction the records were kept at the home of R. Y. Smyley.

PERSONALS.

Hon. Frank W. Buffum: Born in Wisconsin in 1859; died at St. Louis, Missouri, November 12, 1922. He came to Louisiana, Missouri, as a child, with his parents, and spent his life in pursuit of various business activities in that vicinity. At the time of his death he was president of the Buffum Tool Company. Prior to that he had held extensive telephone and lumber interests. He served four years as State Highway Commissioner under Governor Elliot W. Major.

George F. Crutchley: Born in Ray county, Missouri, February 2, 1857; died at Norborne, Missouri, December 11, 1922. Mr. Crutchley established and conducted a general merchandise business at Norborne for some twenty-five years. In 1900 he started publication of the *Norborne Democrat* and was successful as an editor. He served two terms as mayor of Norborne and during President Wilson's administration was appointed internal revenue collector for the western district of Missouri.

Hon. H. D. Evans: Born at Steelville, Missouri, June 11, 1859; died at Jefferson City, Missouri, October 25, 1922. He became interested in banking while a young man and was one of the organizers, and for years the cashier, of the Lead Belt Bank of Bonne Terre. In 1920 he was appointed chairman of the Board of Managers of the State Eleemosynary Institutions. Mr. Evans was a member of the State Historical Society.

Judge W. N. Evans: Born in Owsley county, Kentucky, September 11, 1849; died at West Plains, Missouri, November 12, 1922. He enlisted in the Confederate Army at the age of 14 and served throughout the war. He came to Missouri in 1869 and was admitted to the bar in 1875. His first public office came in 1877 with his election as superintendent of schools of Wright county. Shortly after this he moved to

Oregon county and was there elected prosecuting attorney in 1878. He became a resident of Howell county in 1885 and was appointed circuit judge for the 20th judicial circuit by Governor David R. Francis to fill an unexpired term. From that time until 1916 Judge Evans served continuously on the circuit bench. He was manager of Joseph W. Folk's campaign for governor in 1904.

Hon. Porter Gilvin: Born in Boone county, Missouri, March 26, 1866; died at Jefferson City, Missouri, November 11, 1922. Mr. Gilvin came to the state penitentiary as wall guard in 1888. He became interested in prison management and obtained promotion until, during the administration of Governor Gardner, he was made warden. In this position he was especially noted because of the love and respect in which he was held by the convicts.

Col. James H. McCord: Born at Savannah, Missouri, November 2, 1857; died at St. Joseph, Missouri, September 8, 1922. Col. McCord was graduated from Virginia Military Institute in 1879 and entered business in St. Joseph. He was for many years active in military circles and was credited with much of the success in the organization of the Missouri National Guard. He was made first lieutenant of Co. A, St. Joseph light infantry, in 1879. He continued his connection with the National Guard throughout the years and was promoted until in 1905 he was made a colonel. In 1917 Governor Gardner appointed Col. McCord Adjutant General of Missouri, making him executive draft officer for the State.

Hon. Vinton Pike: Born at Cornish, Maine, in 1850; died at St. Joseph, Missouri, October 13, 1922. He came to St. Joseph in 1868, there studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1872. For 50 years he was actively engaged as an attorney in that city. He served as city counselor from 1882 to 1884 and was a member of the city board of public utilities from 1910 to 1914. At the time of his death he was a member of the State Board of Law Examiners.

Hon. J. J. Russell: Born in Mississippi county, Missouri, August 23, 1854; died at Charleston, Missouri, October 19, 1922. He was educated in the public schools, the Charleston Academy and the University of Missouri. He was elected county school commissioner of Mississippi county in 1879, prosecuting attorney in 1881, and representative to the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth General Assembly. He served as Speaker of the House in the Thirty-fifth Assembly. He was a member from the Fourteenth Missouri district, of the Sixtieth, Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Cogresses.

Hon. Lon V. Stephens: Born at Boonville, Missouri, December 21, 1858; died at St. Louis, January 10, 1923. He was educated at Cooper Institute, Kemper Family School and Washington and Lee University. As a young man he entered the newspaper field and became editor of the *Boonville Advertiser*. He later became interested in banking and gained considerable prominence as the receiver of the Fifth National Bank of St. Louis. As a result of his work in this capacity he was appointed State Treasurer by Governor David R. Francis in 1889, serving subsequently until 1897. He was elected Governor in 1896, on the free-silver platform. One of his notable acts as chief executive of the state was the creating of the State Fair at Sedalia. Since his retirement from public life he had devoted his time to banking interests in Jefferson City, Bunceton and St. Louis.

Dr. George A. Still: Born March 12, 1882, at Eudora, Kansas; died at Kirksville, Missouri, November 23, 1922. He attended the Kirksville Teachers' College and Drake University, was graduated from the Rush Medical Department of Northwestern University in 1904. In 1906 he was graduated from the American School of Osteopathy at Kirksville. He did post-graduate work in Berlin and Vienna. He specialized in surgery and became surgeon-in-chief of the American School of Osteopathy in 1907. In 1917 he was made president of the school.

John Barber White: Born in Chautauqua county, New York, in 1847; died at Kansas City, Missouri, January 5, 1923. He came to Missouri in 1880 and acquired large forest and lumber interests, first in Missouri and then over the entire west. He was also connected with banking institutions. In 1917 he served as a member of the United States Shipping Board. Mr. White was very interested in historical matters and was a member of the Missouri Society of Colonial Wars, Missouri Sons of the Revolution, American Academy of Political and Social Science, State Historical Society of Missouri, New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Heath (Massachusetts) Historical Society, Missouri Valley Historical Society, Virginia Historical Society, Harleian Historical Society of London, England, National Geographic Society and the American Society of International Law. He was quite an extensive writer along genealogical lines and had written and published several volumes having to do with the genealogy of the White family.

Thomas Benton White: Born May 7, 1843, at Kalida, Ohio; died May 4, 1922, at Denver, Colorado. He served from 1861 to 1864 in the Civil War with Company H, 42nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry. After the war he worked on newspapers in Denver, Colorado, New York City and other places. In 1883 he came to Warsaw, Missouri, and purchased the *Missouri Enterprise*, later changing the name of the paper to *The Benton County Enterprise*. He was still the owner of this paper at the time of his death, but had retired from active work as editor in 1915.

Hon. E. E. Yates: Born at Gallatin, Missouri, October 16, 1861; died at Kansas City, Missouri, December 3, 1922. He was graduated from Central College, Fayette, Missouri, and began the practice of law in Gallatin. In 1893 he moved to Kansas City and became associated with Judge M. A. Fyke in the practice of his profession. During the administration of Governor Dockery he served a short time as State Superintendent of Insurance. For a few years he was one of the law partners of Senator James A. Reed, severing the firm connection in 1912 to practice law alone.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS

JULY-DECEMBER, 1921.

Andrew County. Savannah, *Reporter.*

Aug. 5. Missouri Centennial Edition. Historical sketch of the *Reporter.*

Dec. 2. Sketch of the life of Judge A. D. Burnes, circuit judge in Andrew county for 23 years. See also *Andrew County Democrat* for December 2, 1921.

Atchison County. Rockport, *Atchison County Journal.*

Sept. 29. The dollars and dimes. A story of the financial situation following the Civil War.

Dec. 22. Sketch of the life of J. A. Newell, Union veteran. See also *Atchison County Mail* for December 23, 1921.

———— ————*Atchison County Mail.*

Nov. 11. Sketch of the life of Charles R. Burke, Confederate veteran.

———— Tarkio, *Avalanche.*

July 29. Missouri Centennial Edition.
Pioneer days in Atchison county. Excerpts from "History of Holt and Atchison Counties—1882."
Origin of Tarkio College. By Prof. H. W. Spencer.
Tarkio in the early '80's. Town organization taken from minutes of first township board meeting.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Intelligencer.*

Aug. 4. Missouri Centennial Edition.
Short history of Missouri Military Academy and Hardin College.
History and description of Audrain county.

Oct. 13. Days of old Southland recalled by U. D. C. historical program.

———— ————*Weekly Ledger.*

July 28. Mexico has grown from a village of 80 to a thriving city since 1853.

Aug. 4. Missouri Centennial Edition.
A history of Audrain county.
Audrain men who made the supreme sacrifice in the World War—with photographs.
Audrain Civil War stories.
Some early Mexico news. Facts about city and county taken from the files of the *Ledger.*

Aug. 18. Mexico Presbyterian Church is one of oldest and foremost in Synod. A short sketch.

Sept. 1. Christian Church of Mexico has been active since 1840.

Sept. 8. Columbia mansion, former home of Governor C. H. Hardin.

Oct. 13. History of Wednesday Club.

Barton County. Liberal, *News.*
Aug. 5. Sketch of the life of E. J. Jernart, Union veteran.

Bates County. Audrain, *Journal.*
Oct. 27. Sketch of the life of Wilson Adams, Union veteran.

——— Butler, *Republican Press.*
Dec. 16. Paper has birthday. Some facts about *Republican Press.*

Boone County. Centralia, *Courier.*
Oct. 28. Sketch of the life of J. T. Mitchell, former state bank commissioner. See also *Fireside Guard* for October 28th.

——— ———*Fireside Guard.*
July 1. From Harvey Hulen. Under this heading appear interesting reminiscences of the Civil War period and Mr. Hulen's experiences in the Confederate Army. Continued in issues of July 22; August 12, 26; September 2, 9, 16, 23, 30; October 7, 14, 21, 28; November 4, 11, 25; December 2, 9, 23 and 30.

——— Columbia, *Herald-Statesman.*
Dec. 22. Sketch of the life of L. T. Searcy, county official.

——— ———*Evening Missourian.*
July 5. Here's what M. U. looked like to the visitor 40 years ago. Picture and description.
July 6. Mark Twain, reporter. As told by himself at a printers' banquet in New York City; with a sketch of his life. Continued in issue of July 7th.
July 18. Historical significance of names of Boone county towns.
July 20. Guerillas made raid near here 57 years ago. A Civil War incident.
Aug. 9. One building in business section has stood for 71 years. A description of Columbia's main street in 1850.
Aug. 11. Centralia had one of worst fights known. Story of battle of September 27, 1864. Reprinted from St. Louis *Republic* of August 5, 1900.
Aug. 24. Tells thrills of childhood in Columbia during Civil War. Reminiscences of Ben M. Anderson.
Oct. 4. W. T. Anderson tells of being mistaken for bushwhacker. A Civil War incident.
Oct. 17. R. B. Price, Sr., observes his 89th birthday with recollections of pioneer days.
Oct. 29. Sketch of the life of Judge John D. Lawson, former dean of the School of Law of the University of Missouri.
Nov. 2. War enmity in 1868 lost M. U. her first appropriation.
Nov. 17. First headline in Missouri tells of State's admission into Union. Reprinted from the St. Louis *Intelligencer* of March 25, 1820.
Nov. 19. Thwarting bushwhackers made Mrs. Guitar thankful in 1863. A Civil War incident.
Nov. 25. Columbia church buildings show a marked change since 1865.
Dec. 27. Oldest Baptist church in State is 8 miles north of Rocheport.
Dec. 29. Mrs. Martna Smith tells of hardships endured in Civil War.

——— ———*Daily Tribune*
Oct. 25. Confederate navy played a large part in war against Union.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Gazette.*

Sept. 25. What St. Joseph boasted of in 1889 and what it needed for future. Reprinted from "Handbook of Northwest Missouri for 1889."

Oct. 30. Seventy-fifth Anniversary Number History of the *Gazette* and considerable historical material relating to St. Joseph.
History of the Platte purchase.
History of the St. Joseph public school system.
Pictorial section of pioneer St. Joseph people and places.

Nov. 27. Mark Twain's birthday of added significance this year. Some incidents of his life.

Dec. 2. Sketch of the life of Judge A. D. Burnes, of the 5th judicial circuit.

———— ————*News-Press.*

Nov. 25. Recalls days of old city script. Facts concerning early-day debts of city.

———— ————*Observer.*

July 30. When she first came to St. Joseph in 1861. Reminiscences of Mrs. S. S. Wolcott. Reprinted from Burlington Junction *Post.*

Caldwell County. Breckenridge, *Bulletin.*

Aug. 12. Missouri Centennial Edition.
Early history of Breckenridge.

Callaway County. Fulton, *Missouri Telegraph.*

July 21. 100th anniversary was celebrated. Sketch of Old Cedar Primitive Baptist Church.

Nov. 10. Callaway politics in 1870. Extracts from *Telegraph* of November 4, 1870.

Cape Girardeau County. Jackson, *Missouri Cash-Book.*

July 28. Williams Creek news. A historical sketch of old McKenzie Chapel and Methodist church in Cape Girardeau county. Continued in issue of August 18th.

Aug. 25. Col. E. D. Hays' centennial speech. A historical resume of Missouri.

Dec. 15. Story of Butt McGuire, noted guerilla warrior.

Carroll County. Carrollton, *Democrat.*

Sept. 23. Sketch of the life of Judson B. Hale, former county official and member of Missouri general assembly from Carroll county. see also *Republican-Record* for September 22nd.

Carter County. Van Buren, *Current Local.*

Oct. 13. Missouri Masons observe grand lodge centennial. Historical sketch of Masonry in Missouri.

Dec. 8. An Indian legend of the Big Blue Spring in Current River Ozarks.

Cass County. Drexel, *Star.*

Nov. 10. Sketch of the life of James S. Hays, Confederate veteran.

Cedar County. Stockton, *Cedar County Republican.*

Dec. 15. Sketch of the life of Lewis Clemons, Mexican War and Civil War veteran.

Clark County. Kahoka, *Clark County Courier.*
July 15. Chapters from the history of Clark county. Continued in issues of August 26; September 2; October 7, 21; November 4, 11, 25; December 2, 9, 16 and 23.

———— ————*Gazette-Herald.*
July 15. Chapters of Clark county history. Continued in issues of July 29; August 12, 26; September 2, 9, 23, 30; October 7, 14, 21, 28; November 4, 11, 18, 25; December 2, 9, 16, 23.

Clay County. Liberty, *Advance.*
Aug. 22. Old money. Various coinages of the United States. Reprinted from the Washington, D. C., *Star.*
Oct. 10. Sketch of the life of John B. Murray, former editor of the *Advance.*

———— ————*Tribune.*
July 1. Picture of "Steamboat" Green's hotel. A Liberty landmark of 50 years ago.
July 22. Kansas City in 1840; as described by the late John C. McCoy.
Sept. 16. When Quantrell began. How his border warfare started in the '60's. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Post.*
Nov. 4. A prosperous old lodge. Historical sketch of Masonic lodge, organized in 1840.

Cole County. Jefferson City, *Mosby's Missouri Message.*
July 1. Missourians you have known. A regular department containing stories of famous Missourians.

Cooper County. Boonville, *Weekly Advertiser.*
Aug. 11. Pioneer life in Cooper county.
Dec. 27. Boonville in 1868. Recollections of W. E. Walton.

———— ————*Central Missouri Republican.*
Aug. 4. Who was first white man in Cooper county?
Story of early explorations.
Boonville was born before Missouri was. Some early history of Boonville.

———— Bunceton, *Eagle.*
Aug. 5. Missouri Centennial Edition.
Old river steamers. A list of names.
The story of Cooper county.
Across Missouri 100 years ago.
Why I came to Missouri, by Prof. D. R. Cully, with description of conditions before Civil War.
Mills of long ago.
Early history of Boonville.
Civil War days here.
Cooper county in census of 1850.
Old hotel register, record of events, of old City Hotel at Boonville.
Old "stray" notices published long ago.
Early days in Cooper county.
Sketch of Nathaniel Leonard, pioneer.
Sept. 2. History of Bell Air Church.
Dec. 16. Missouri and her first Christmas. Christmas 50 years ago.

Dade County. Greenfield, *Vedette.*

July 7. A forgotten massacre. Story of Seminole War and Major Dade, for whom county was named.

Dec. 8. Sketch of the life of Capt. Geo. W. Gilmore, Union veteran.

Daviess County. Gallatin, *Democrat.*

Aug. 4. Missouri Centennial Edition.
Governor Dockery's address on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Battle of Wilson's Creek, 1901.

Aug. 11. Missouri—a glorious heritage. A resume of Missouri's 100 years of statehood. By A. M. Dockery. Printed also in *North Missourian* for August 11th.

Aug. 24. Sketch of the life of J. T. Day, former publisher of the *North Missourian* and county official.

———— ————*North Missourian.*

Dec. 1. Interesting history. Description of pioneer conditions in Daviess county. Reprinted from *North Missourian* for 1899.

———— Winston, *Sentinel.*

Sept. 29. 21 years old. A sketch of the *Sentinel*, with considerable newspaper history of Winston.

Dunklin County. Kennett, *Dunklin Democrat.*

Nov. 11. Sketch of the life of J. L. Downing, former state and county official. See also *News* for November 11th.

———— ————*Dunklin County News.*

Dec. 9. History of Missouri's constitution. From address delivered before the Dunklin County Bar Association.

Franklin County. Sullivan, *News.*

July 28. A Franklin county pioneer and California gold seeker. Sketch of John R. Smith.

Aug. 11. Sketch of Stephen Sullivan, founder of the town of Sullivan.

Aug. 25. Pioneers in Meramec township about 100 years ago.

Sept. 29. The 49-er's guide book. Some extracts from a guide book for emigrants to California in 1849.

———— Union, *Republican Tribune.*

Oct. 7. Old landmark gone. History of church built in 1843 and used by several denominations.

———— Washington, *Franklin County Observer.*

Aug. 5. Missouri Centennial Edition.
Historical facts of City of Washington.
Stores of Washington. Short sketches of business firms.

———— ————*Citizen.*

July 8. The memories of early impressions of a scattered generation. Random historical recollections of Washington and Franklin county. Continued in issue of July 15th.

Gentry County. Albany, *Capital.*

Dec. 29. Sketch of the life of James W. Baine, Union veteran.

———— ————*Ledger.*

Oct. 13. Reminiscences of old settler. Description of pioneer life of Gentry county.

Greene County. Springfield, *Leader.*

Sept. 6. Ozark caves present many mysteries. A descriptive sketch.

Harrison County. Bethany, *Clipper.*

Nov. 16. Sketch of the life of R. H. Wren, Union veteran. See also *Republican* for November 16th.

Nov. 30. Sketch of the life of J. W. Kenyon, Union veteran. See also *Republican*, Nov. 30th.

Sketch of the life of W. Wanamaker, former circuit judge. See also *Republican* for November 23 and 30.

Henry County. Clinton, *Henry County Democrat.*

Sept. 29. An historic site. Sketch of Sarde's Church.

Hickory County. Hermitage, *Index.*

July 7. Early county history. Reprinted from Wilson's History of Hickory County. Continued in issues of July 14th and August 4th and 11th.

July 21. What Hickory did during the Civil War. By Wm. McCracken.

Holt County. Craig, *Leader.*

Dec. 9. Sketch of the life of Judge Alonzo D. Burnes.

———— Mound City, *News-Jeffersonian.*

Aug. 5. Missouri Centennial Edition.

A bit of history. Early events connected with the settlement and development of Holt county.

History of Mound City.

Sept. 23. Sketch of the life of Judge John Kennish.

———— Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel.*

Sept. 23. Sketch of the life of Judge John Kennish.

Dec. 9. Sketch of the life of Judge A. D. Burnes.

Howard County. Fayette, *Advertiser.*

July 28. Missouri Centennial Edition.

A few Howard countians who have helped to make Missouri famous.

News from all over Missouri in 1821.

Dec. 15. Sketch of the life of H. B. Watts, former county official and Confederate veteran.

———— ————*Democrat-Leader.*

Aug. 4. Missouri Centennial Edition.

Howard county's sons.

Attack on Fayette during Civil War.

Arrival of the first steamboat.

Early Indian horrors.

Past and present as illustrated by two Howard county newspapers.

Historical sketch of Howard-Payne College.

Fayette has grown from a log-cabin village to a city of beautiful homes.

Aug. 4. Early history of Missouri.
Oldest official records of Howard county.
Chronological history of Howard county.
History of Central College.

Howell County. West Plains, *Howell County Gazette.*
Sept. 15. Sketch of the life of Rev. Daniel Shipman, pioneer preacher.
Nov. 3. Sketch of the life of John F. Wells, Mexican War veteran. See also *Journal* for November 3rd.
Nov. 24. Sketch of the life of R. Q. Gilliland, former State and county official.

Jackson County. Independence, *Jackson Examiner.*
Oct. 7. Two trails started here. Some facts about Oregon Trail and Santa Fe Trail. Reprinted from Outdoor Life.

———— Kansas City, *Catholic Register.*
Dec. 22. Judge Johnson's father helped frame State constitution. Sketch of the life of Waldo P. Johnson, member of constitutional convention of 1875.

———— ————*Journal.*
June 5. Early Missourians were tillers of soil. Some history of Missouri agriculture. Reprinted from *Missouri Historical Review.* Continued in issues of June 12th and 19th.
June 26. Missouri's great men. Thumb-nail sketches of famous Missourians.
July 27. Judge Robert B. Middlebrook, famous judge of circuit court.
Aug. 7. Missouri passes 100th milestone in path of progress. A short historical sketch of State, with old view of Kansas City.
Aug. 14. Kansas City yesterday and today. Scenes in West Bottoms.
Aug. 21. Kansas City's history. 60 years of progress told in pictures.
Aug. 28. See city grow from early days to metropolis. Recollections of Mr. and Mrs. Robert T. Bass.
Sept. 11. Operates Dallas mill his father bought in 1850. A sketch of Stubbins Watts, with considerable description of pioneer water-power mill.
Sept. 25. Pirate craft once infested the Mississippi. Story of early days on River. Reprinted from Memphis *Commercial-Appeal.*
Do you remember when? View of Kansas Citians of the '80's, with old-fashioned bicycles.
Oct. 2. Senator Benton's prophecy a reality. A short historical sketch of Kansas City.
Catastrophes of Kansas City.
Street roster in early days was family affair.
Miscellaneous historical matter.
From stage coach to Pullmans. Kansas City's transportation story in pictures.
Kansas City's great cyclones, with illustrations.
Kansas City then and now. Views of the city of yesterday and today.
Homes of the *Journal,* from 1854 to 1921.
Pioneer homes of Kansas City, as seen by present generation.
Pioneer tells of early days of Sibley, Missouri. Recollections of Brig.-Gen. Wm. C. Harrelson.
Oct. 4. Commerce Bank founded in 1865. A historical sketch.

Oct. 23. A municipality of historic milestones. Sketch of Independence, Missouri.
"The Dude" holds record among "ancient" trains. Sketch of C., M. & St. P. train.
Nov. 6. Kansas Citians in early days of baseball.
Nov. 13. Bucking the Big Muddy 65 years. Capt. James Kennedy tells of experiences steamboating on the Missouri River.
Nov. 27. Mark Twain's birthday of added significance this year. Sketch of Missouri's great writer.
Dec. 11. State's history filled with anecdotes about pioneer local women.
Dec. 25. Kansas City's street cars—past and present.

———— ————*Post.*

Aug. 7. Missouri a free republic 40 years under first code. By W. L. Webb.
Wilson Creek battle made record of casualties.
Sam Hildebrand, most noted Civil War bushwhacker. A sketch by Bert Love.
Centennial Section. Early Missouri history.
Thomas H. Benton. A sketch.
Statutes of 1823.
Battle of Westport.
State constitutions.
Missouri's part in 20 wars.
Naming of Kansas City.
Aug. 14. Letters reveal struggles and hopes of pioneers in Missouri 70 years ago.
Sept. 9. Survivors of Quantrell's bold band in reunion. Recollections of "Col. ' Morgan Mattox of the activities of the band. See also issue of September 11th.
Sept. 25. Daniel Boone's body, believed removed to Kentucky, still rests in Missouri soil, says Kansas City relative.
Oct. 2. Kansas City lawyer witnessed strange illusion of mirage on the plains. A story of pioneer days in the west, by Milton Moore.
Early explorers and traders much attracted by Kansas City's site. Some facts about early settlers.
Oct. 23. Veteran engineer recalls day of wood burners and bushwhackers. Reminiscences of Capt. James G. McIntosh.
Nov. 20. Pioneer tells of days when daring spirits reclaimed wilderness.
Dec. 18. Bridge saved Kansas City from being "one horse ' country town. Story of structure erected across Missouri River 50 years ago.

———— ————*Midwest Bookman.*

May History of the Missouri Writers' Guild. By J. Breckenridge Ellis.
June How Westport Landing won success. A sketch of pioneer settlement.

———— ————*Star.*

July 17. Digging into history to find a city plan. Description of early Kansas City.
July 30. The re-discovery of Mary Twain's "Lost Napoleon. '
July 31. The Winston train robbery and the "last straw" for Jesse James.

Aug. 7. Missouri Centennial Edition.
Story of the State.
Missouri's Constitution.
Missouri Compromise.
Capitals of the State.
Winning of the West.
Church beginnings.
Epoch makers in Missouri journalism.
Governors of Missouri.
Statesmen of Missouri.
A century of politics.
Story of the cities.
Steamboat days.
Missouri in nation's wars.
Trails, roads and rails.
Missouri's state seal.
A Century of Education.
Art, science and literature in Missouri.
Making and naming of counties.
In the world of our grandfathers.
Confederate state capital.
Some first things.
The old tavern at Arrow Rock.

Sept. 1. Missouri painters among first in Hall of Fame. Short sketch of Carroll Beckwith.

Sept. 7. Indian trails are routes for cross-state highways. Reprinted from Missouri Road Bulletin.

Sept. 14. Sketch of the life of Judge John Kennish, former supreme court judge and member of State public service commission.

Sept. 17. Eastern Kansas, as the maps showed it in 1858 and as it appears on maps today.

Oct. 2. Memory more than real. Short sketches of persons represented in centennial program.
When the Santa Fe Trail was blazed.
When a white Missourian was sold into slavery.

Oct. 23. Gone are the old river days. Some reminiscences.

Nov. 4. Early city history reflected in life of pioneer pastor. Extracts from "Life of Father Bernard Donnelly," by Rev. W. J. Dalton.

Dec. 16. In footsteps of father. A sketch of Waldo P. Johnson, president of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875.

———— ————*Times.*

Aug. 11. Sedalia named for her. Reminiscences of Mrs. Elmira Cotton.

Aug. 13. Recalls the levee days. A glimpse of Kansas City in 1873, with photographs.

Sept. 19. Masonry in Missouri at the century mark.

———— Lees Summit, *Journal.*

July 14. A bit of Civil War history. Waverly and Sibley and the war. Reprinted from the Odessa *Democrat.*

Aug. 4. Missouri Centennial Edition.
Growth of country journalism. A short sketch of the *Journal.*

Sept. 15. Anniversary of Gunn City's tragedy. Story of killing of three county judges of Cass county, an outgrowth of the railroad bond trouble. Reprinted from *Cass County News.*

Jasper County. Carl Junction, *Standard.*
Oct. 28. Sketch of the life of Capt. John Nilson, Union veteran.

Johnson County. Holden, *Progress.*
Aug. 4. Missouri Centennial Edition.
Beginnings of Johnson county. By O. G. Boisseau.
Old-time farm nome. Reprinted from *Farmer and Stockman.*

———— Warrensburg, *Standard-Herald.*
Aug. 19. A sketch of the early schools of Warrensburg. By Miss Lizzie F. Groves.

Laclede County. Lebanon, *Laclede County Republican.*
July 1. History of the First Congregational Church.

Lafayette County. Lexington, *News.*
Aug. 25. The return of the packet; with some river navigation history. Reprinted from *Popular Mechanics Magazine.*

———— Odessa, *Democrat.*
July 8. History of Bates City. Continued in issues of July 15th and 22nd.
Aug. 5. Missouri Centennial Edition.
About our town. Early history of Odessa.
In pioneer days. How Missourians lived.
Sketches of Odessa lodges.
Early settlements.
First happenings in Lafayette county.
Early Missouri history.
Steamboat days
Early church history.
Township history.

———— ————*Missouri Ledger.*
Aug. 5. Missouri Centennial Edition.
The beginning of Odessa. Continued in issue of August 12th.
Then and now. Recollections of T. W. Carmichael.
History and recollections of Mary Jane Hutchinson.

———— Wellington, *News.*
Aug. 4. History of Wellington in paragraphs. By Charles M. Bowring.

Lewis County. LaBelle, *Star.*
Sept. 2. Some historical events retold. Story of Missouri's admission into Union.

Lincoln County. Elsberry, *Democrat.*
Sept. 30. Clark boosted for Grant. An incident in the life of Champ Clark. Reprinted from St. Louis *Star.*
Nov. 18. Sketch of the life of A. A. Sledd, Confederate veteran.

Madison County. Fredericktown, *Democrat-News.*
Aug. 11. Missouri reaches 100th birthday. A short sketch of State.
Sept. 15. Madison county a century ago.

Marion County. Palmyra, *Spectator.*
July 6. The crime, trial, confession and execution of "Old Ben." Story of murder of Bright children in Union township in 1849. Continued in issues of June 15, 22 and 29.

Sept. 28. Railroads and near-railroads in Palmyra. A historical sketch.
Nov. 23. Anecdotes of Missouri's governor, Robert M. Stewart.
Nov. 30. When a white Missourian was sold into slavery. Story of James Boyd of Trenton.

Mercer County. Princeton, *Post.*
Aug. 17. Sketch of the life of Lemuel McDonald, Union veteran. See also the *Telegraph* for August 17th.

Miller County. Eldon, *Advertiser.*
Aug. 4. Missouri Centennial Edition.
Eldon first started in spring of 1883.
Earliest history of Miller county people.
Early happenings in Eldon.
Interview with one of first settlers.

Mississippi County. Charleston, *Enterprise-Courier.*
Sept. 29. Bell from first locomotive presented to school. Some history of Cairo and Fulton Railroad.
Nov. 24. Charleston praised as a city of progressiveness. Sketch of city, with some historical data.

Moniteau County. Tipton, *Times.*
Aug. 26. 46th volume. Some historical facts about *Times.*
Oct. 28. Sketch of the life of Loren E. Seneker, State Senator from 18th district.

Monroe County. Madison, *Times.*
Aug. 4. Missouri Centennial Edition.
Brief history of Monroe county.
Some history of Madison.
Origin of county papers.

———— Monroe City, *Semi-Weekly News.*
July 19. Sketch of the life of B. O. Wood, pioneer citizen.

Montgomery County. Jonesburg, *Journal.*
July 21. Sketch of the life of Joseph P. Chiles, Union veteran.

———— Montgomery City, *Standard.*
Dec. 9. Sketch of the life of John W. Jacks, publisher of the *Standard.*

Morgan County. Versailles, *Leader.*
July 8. Hannay's letter. Reminiscences of Morgan county citizens of the past.
Aug. 5. Missouri Centennial Edition.
Churches of Versailles.
First church in Morgan county.
Historical sketch of Morgan county.
Public schools of Versailles.
Dec. 2. Sketch of the life of John T. Washburn, Confederate veteran.

New Madrid County. Portageville, *Southeast Missourian.*
Dec. 2. Story of Cape Rock, near Cape Girardeau. Reprinted from St. Louis *Star.*

Newton County. Neosho, *Miner and Mechanic.*
July 1. Report of Newton County Sunday School Convention.

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———— Skidmore, *News.*
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———— ————*Herald.*
Sept. 8. School of Mines and Metallurgy. A short historical and descriptive sketch.

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July 28. In the days of the pioneer.

Polk County. Bolivar, *Free Press.*
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Aug. 4. Missouri's 100th anniversary. Some description of pioneer life.

———— New London, *Ralls County Record.*
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Aug. 17. Account of St. Charles centennial celebration. See also *Banner-News.*
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Nov. 9. St. Charles road 100 years old. A historical sketch.

———— Wentzville, *Union.*
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St. Francois County. Flat River, *Lead Belt News.*
Dec. 23. St. Francois county's 100th birthday; with historical data.

———— Farmington, *News.*
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History of good roads movement in St. Francois county.

St. Louis County. Carondelet, *News.*
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———— Clayton, *Watchman-Advocate.*

Aug. 5. History of St. Louis county. By Mrs. Wm. F. Broadhead. Continued in issue of August 12th.

Oct. 28. Tells of early St. Louis history. Recollections of T. W. Blackman, pioneer citizen.

St. Louis City. *Globe-Democrat.*

July 3. 47th birthday of Eads Bridge. A historical sketch.

Oct. 2. Old St. Louis pictured in directory of 1847.

Oct. 11. Sketch of the life of Wm. C. Marshall, former judge of Missouri supreme court. See also *Post-Dispatch* and *Star* for October 10th.

Oct. 16. Dr. A. N. DeMenil writes on history of early St. Louisans.

Oct. 22. Bishop Tuttle tells of Episcopal Church's growth in 100 years.

Nov. 27. New constitution will be written for Missouri next year by 83 delegates. Some weak points of 1875 constitution and history of new constitution movement.

Dec. 18. Present constitution makers nearly split on religious question. Incidents of convention of 1875.

———— *Know St. Louis.*

Sept. 12. A glimpse of old St. Louis.

———— *Post-Dispatch.*

July 3. Spectacle of "Missouri 100 Years Ago." A description of celebration planned.

July 10. Missouri entered Union 100 years ago on August 10th. Account of centennial celebration at Sedalia August 8th to 20th.

July 17. Stories of political intrigue and tragedy at old city hall, soon to be torn down.

July 24. A new "Who's Who" of Missourians in literature.

Aug. 7. Observations on Missouri's part in United States history. By E. M. Violette.

Aug. 8. Missourian, International Reporter. A sketch of Thomas F. F. Millard, former war correspondent and authority on far east policies.

Aug. 10. Interesting New York view of Missouri's centennial. Reprinted from New York *Herald.*

Aug. 20. Missouri and John Colter. Some facts concerning his explorations, by A. H. Marcrander.

Aug. 28. Scenes in drama "Missouri." Synopsis of drama to be presented during centennial celebration.

Sept. 1. Old St. Louis revealed in quest for centenary data. Some facts about city in 1821.

Sept. 4. Who really founded St. Louis—Laclede or Chouteau?

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Sept. 11. Sumptuous meal cost 50 cents here in 1864. Dinner menu of old Planters House for June 6, 1864.

Life in St. Louis 100 years ago. As revealed by old *Missouri Gazette.*

Oct. 2. Vivid story of Missouri's statehood fight is told in Stevens' centennial drama.

Oct. 5. First executive of Missouri memorialized. Short history of Alexander McNair. Reprinted in Kansas City *Times* for October 7th.

Oct. 10. First Catholic services in Missouri described.

Oct. 12. Missouri centennial drama sets new mark in community effort. A sypnopsis of the pageant. See also *Globe-Democrat* for October 12th.

Oct. 23. "Good old days" in St. Louis no better than today says the venerable Bishop Tuttle. Reminiscences of other days.

Nov. 6. Record of St. Charles road traced to 1818. See also *Star* for November 6th.

Lot bought for $10,600 in 1857 brings $140,000. Some historical notes on St. Louis land values.

Nov. 27. Laclede, not Chouteau, was the founder of St. Louis. A survey of documentary evidence. By Clair Kennamore.

Dec. 16. Augustus Thomas tells of his experiences as a page. Missouri playwright's reminiscences of Missouri legislature in late '60's. Reprinted from *Saturday Evening Post.*

Dec. 18. The last will of Pierre Laclede Liguest. Itemized list of estate.

———— ———— *Star.*

July 17. Old Timers recall when autos were scarce in St. Louis.

July 24. Chief event in celebration of Missouri's centennial as state to be staged in St. Louis. With considerable historical detail.

Sept. 11. Pierre Laclede was founder of St. Louis, Father Kenny says.

Real closeness of Clark's race at Baltimore shown in McComb's Review of President-Making.

Sept. 28. The day of the Frenchman and its bearing upon the history of Missouri. By Dr. T. M. Marshall of Washington University. First of a series of articles on Missouri history. Continued in issues of October 2, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23, 29 and 30.

Oct. 5. Indians frightened children here in youth of Mrs. Watt. Recollections of St. Louis of 80 years ago.

Oct. 11. Pioneer tells of first street-car in St. Louis.

Oct. 16. Richard McCulloh's son wins prize for essay on Missouri. Reprint of a short essay on Missouri's Struggle for Statehood.

Dec. 4. Story of first Missouri duel; between Capt. Wm. Ogle and Joseph McFerron.

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Dec. 29. Do you remember? A series of photographs of people, places and events of other years. Continued each day in subsequent issues.

Dec. 30. Lehmann says 1820 code gave most authority to legislature. Discussion of Missouri's constitutions.

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Indians of Saline county.

———— Slater, *News.*

Aug. 2. Missouri Centennial Edition.

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———— Sweet Springs, *Herald.*
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Local historical events. Random notes on Sweet Springs.

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Sept. 8. Some Texas county history. Scraps of information about early days. Continued in issues of September 15th and November 17th.
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Dec. 8. First issue of *Advance.* A resume.

———— Grant City, *Star.*

Aug. 3. Started in Grant City. Sketch of James M. Pierce, farm publisher.

———— ———— *Tribune.*
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Wright County. Mansfield, *Mirror.*
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Sept. 15. Sketch of Wright county, and City of Mansfield.
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———— Hartville, *Democrat.*
Sept. 1. Progress of Hartville public schools.

———— ———— *Wright County Republican.*

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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MISSOURIANS ABROAD—NO. 12

DANIEL COWEN JACKLING

BY GRACE L. GILMORE

"Work, work, more work. That's the formula. For ten years I averaged fifteen hours a day. I've worked steadily, persistently, ever since I was old enough to know what work was. And this is my definition of work: To repeat mechanically the same task is not work; that is labor. The work I mean, is continuous, purposeful, constructive effort, followed by accomplishment. If you leave the engine of your automobile running while it stands at the curb, the motor burns fuel and oil, goes through all the motions, and in time will wear itself out; but the car performs no work. Thousands of men are running the car of their life with the throttle wide open, without noticing that the wheels are spinning deeper and deeper into the sand. Effort alone won't do it. It must be definite, constructive effort; it must be continuous, and it must produce results. Whenever I found that my best efforts failed to produce the expected results, I chose another road and went at it again until I got there."—D. C. Jackling.

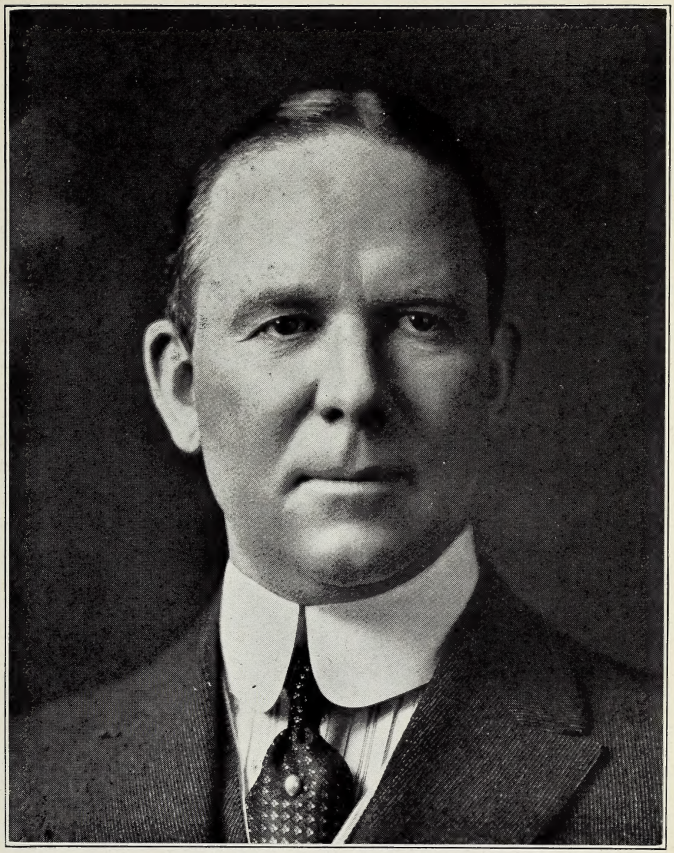
Daniel Cowen Jackling was left an orphan before he was two years old. At twenty, he began to work his way through college. At forty Mr. Jackling was a millionaire and work was his motto. Genius, a handsome name frequently given to hard working men after they have finished a tough job, is the name that has been given to Mr. Jackling, and it is one which he justly deserves since his amazing achievements in the copper industry.

Sixteen years ago several mines in the Oquirrh Mountains in Utah were abandoned. They had been worked for twenty-five years and gold, silver and lead could no longer be had in paying quantities. It was well known that these mines contained enormous quantities of copper ore, but it was of such low grade that it would not repay the cost of mining.

D. C. Jackling, who had been an engineer in one of these mines, had studied this low-grade ore. Men that knew something about the mines laughed at him for wasting his time on ore in which only two parts in a hundred were worth anything. But when the mines closed down, Mr. Jackling raised a little capital, went East and interested capitalists in New York and Boston. Then he went back to the mines, bought the old equipment at a low price and the Utah Copper Company started operations. In 1917, this company with Jackling at its head, produced the greatest copper tonnage of any mine in the world. It has, from the beginning, paid handsome profits on perhaps the lowest grade ore ever carried to a smelter. It handles every day a far greater tonnage of raw materials, minerals and metal than any other mine in operation. In 1916, six tons of explosives were used every day, shattering fifty thousand tons of surface waste and porphyry ore. At the smelter, the results were 200 ounces of gold, 2,000 ounces of silver and 400,000 pounds of copper every day, an aggregate value of $75,000. That was the daily average for a year.

Jackling's father and mother lived in Bates county, Missouri, before there were any railroads west of St. Louis. The father, Daniel Jackling, was born in England in 1822. He came to the United States while a young man and was naturalized in this country. Following the rush of settlers in the early fifties he was engaged in a small way in the shipping business of the Pacific. Later, he moved to Bates county, Missouri, and engaged in the trading and forwarding business, on the Santa Fe trail at the old town of Hudson, near what is now Appleton City. Here Daniel Cowen Jackling was born August 14, 1869.

Jackling's father died in December, 1869, and his mother died before he was two years old. His mother's sister, Abigail Dunn, with whom he was taken to live, married and they lived on a farm during all the early part of Jackling's life. Young Jackling's first ambition was to be a school teacher. When he was eighteen, he was working as a farm hand for a salary of fifteen dollars a month. The district school teacher at the time was making thirty dollars a month.



Daniel Cowan Jackling

This looked like a big salary to Jackling. He decided to become a teacher in order to save money to buy land, and attended the normal school at Warrensburg, Missouri, the next winter with this definite purpose in mind.

During his first winter at the Warrensburg normal school, the district teacher left his school, and went to St. Joseph to clerk in a hardware store with a salary of $75 a month. Jackling heard of this and immediately changed his plans. He decided that if he could become a country school teacher, he might also become a clerk and make $75 a month. He figured that out of $75, he could save $60 each month. With good farm land at $20 an acre, he could save enough in two years to buy a good farm, and would soon be agriculturally independent.

Up to the time he was eighteen, there was no regularity about young Jackling's education. He had attended the common district-schools during the winters until he moved to Sedalia, Missouri, where he attended the public schools two terms. It was in 1888 that he attended the normal school at Warrensburg. He stayed a year, but came to the conclusion while there that school-teaching was not what he was looking for. The next summer he worked as teamster for his uncle who had built up a modest contracting business in Sedalia. But this life did not satisfy the boy's ambition. During the summer, a new school building was started and Jackling's uncle was awarded the contract for the excavation for the basement. The boy watched with growing interest while the city engineer was running the lines. Each day he went to him with new questions. He found that the engineer's salary was one hundred dollars a month. By the time the excavating was finished, Jackling had a new purpose in mind. He determined to take a course at the Missouri School of Mines and become a city engineer.

In the fall of 1889, when he was twenty years old, he started for Rolla, Missouri, the home of the School of Mines. He was not sufficiently advanced to enter the freshman year of any technical course, so he took preparatory work the first year. During his first summer vacation, he secured a job

on the M., K. & T. railroad in the maintenance-of-way department, working in Texas, Indian Territory and Kansas. Here he had to do with real construction work, building an extension of that line from Coffeyville, Kansas, into Oklahoma. But he also learned while on this job that the division engineer was grey-haired and getting a salary of only $175 a month, and that the engineer in charge of the surveying crew was paid only $125. Notwithstanding his inexperience, young Jackling perceived that the civil-engineering field was overcrowded and lacking in opportunity.

During the next two years, Jackling concentrated upon chemistry and metallurgy—the science of extracting metals from their ores. Toward the end of 1891 he was appointed student-assistant to the professor of chemistry and metallurgy, Cuthbert P. Conrad. Early in the following year Professor Conrad died and Jackling then had charge of the chemical department and at the same time carried on his studies. He graduated from the school in 1892, but he did not receive the degree of Metallurgical Engineer from the School of Mines until 1903. He remained as assistant professor in chemistry and metallurgy until 1893. But again Jackling's ambition was not satisfied.

About this time Cripple Creek in Colorado was beginning to attract attention. Although Jackling did not know anyone in the West, he borrowed enough money to pay for a ticket to Colorado Springs. A few days after New Year's day 1894, he took the train from Colorado Springs to Divide. His funds were so scanty that he walked the eighteen miles from Divide to Cripple Creek. He was without a single acquaintance in the place and he had just three dollars in his pocket.

His first job was in the assay-office of J. C. Staats, near the old Pharmacist mine. Then he served his metallurgical apprenticeship in the old Lawrence plant. While there he made friends with such resourceful men as Albert F. Holden and Charles M. MacNeill. The Lawrence plant burned in 1895 and Jackling then took up some examinations for Captain DeLamar, a picturesque figure in American mining. Captain

DeLamar had become interested in the Mercur district in Utah and had organized a company called "DeLamar's Mercur Mines." The ore in these mines presented a great problem. Samples of it had been sent to scores of experts in America and Europe, but all had reported that there was no method applicable to that low-grade refractory ore. After a thorough analysis of the ore, Jackling found the solution. Working in his own laboratory, he demonstrated to his own satisfaction that roasting the ore before putting it through the cyanide tanks, to remove the copper from the ore, would bring results. He built a little plant along the lines he devised and commenced operating on a small scale, a few tons a week. It proved successful and a larger plant was built.

Therefore, when in 1899, J. R. DeLamar, the copper refiner and owner of the Mercur mine, was offered the group of claims in Bingham Canyon, Utah, by E. A. Wall, he sent Jackling to do the experimental work. Jackling went to Bingham, drove tunnels, drilled holes and took samples. In the summer of 1899, he made his report to DeLamar. He had definitely proved that there was a very large quantity of ore at Bingham that would average two per cent copper, and that it could be worked profitably. To demonstrate this report, he acquired an old stamp mill and here he crushed hundreds of tons of the ore in order to work out the exact cost of mining, hauling, milling and smelting. Captain DeLamar received the report without much enthusiasm. He praised Jackling's work but refused to sink more money in the mine as he had already paid out over $50,000 for its development.

Jackling had every reason in the world to give up but he didn't. His employer, DeLamar, a great figure in the copper industry had abandoned his investment, a fact damning every argument Jackling might set forth. But four years years later found him still trying to approach skeptic capitalists with his estimates and proposals. Even though he did not own an inch of the porphyry mountain, he didn't become discouraged. He knew that his proposition was sound. Early in 1903, Jackling secured an option on the porphyry ground

and with this he set out again. No one listened to him until he laid his plans before C. M. MacNeill.

MacNeill was not a mining engineer. He had gone out to Cripple Creek as a business manager and while there had become a keen judge of men. He had already formed a high opinion of Jackling as a metallurgist. Thus, when Jackling outlined his project, MacNeill listened and approved. He saw the possibilities but he wanted to experiment. Jackling fought against further delay. He took MacNeill and his associates to Bingham and showed them everything. He won his battle. They agreed to furnish money with which to develop the property on a scale large enough to feed a mill with a capacity of three hundred tons of ore a day.

Jackling made good. The first year of the mill's operation proved his theories. The low-grade ore produced copper at a profit; a profit larger than the gain of most of the famous old copper mines.

Still Jackling was not satisfied. His ideas grew and expanded; his keen insight revealed such enormous possibilities that the size of his project scared his associates. Costs had to be reduced, quantities increased. He needed millions. With the results of less than two year's operations he went to the Guggenheims. He was thirty-six then and not well known, but he had proved and demonstrated his theory. The Guggenheims had foresight enough to realize the importance of the work. They loaned Jackling three million dollars, taking convertible bonds in return.

When Jackling had talked low-grade ore to eastern capitalists, he backed his arguments by descriptions of a new method. He urged abandonment of all underground work, with its costly shafts, drifts and tunnels. He proposed, in other words, to demolish mountains of ore with gigantic power-drills and steam shovels.

Today there are twenty-five terraces around one of these mountains at the Bingham mine. Jackling bought steam shovels and set them to work stripping the mountain until the ore was reached. At times, his shovels moved as much yardage as Goethals did at Panama. He built a gigantic

mill with a capacity of twenty thousand tons of ore a day. He built a power plant with a capacity of twelve thousand horse power, lifted the output to over three million pounds of copper a month, and reduced the costs.

When the railroad could not guarantee cars and locomotives to handle the traffic, Jackling built a railroad—twenty miles of tracks on the terraces. The road starts a thousand feet above the canon at Bingham and runs with a two per cent down grade through tunnel after tunnel, around waists of mountains, over canons—one of the viaducts is 690 feet long and 190 feet high—until it comes out of the mountain at the Great Salt Lake. There stand the immense crushing mills and the smelters. The cost of the twenty miles of track was over three million dollars—one mile alone costing over half a million.

But Jackling made that low-grade copper pay for it. The railroad does nothing but carry out ore and carry in supplies. Perhaps nowhere in the country is freight moved by rail as cheaply as on this road. The loaded cars, after starting, scarcely require a pound of steam for the entire twenty-mile trip, except for the brakes.

That this mountain at Bingham is being eaten away and its copper converted into useful form is due primarily to the vision, courage, personality and resourcefulness of Daniel C. Jackling. He had the courage to back his convictions to the limit; he had the personality to induce capitalists to finance the enterprise because of their confidence in him; and he had the resourcefulness to devise the methods and create the organization for bringing his elaborate plans to fruition.

After launching Utah Copper, Mr. Jackling, in association with others, bought copper mines in Montana, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico. Since April, 1921, these big properties have not been in full commission. This is due to the derangement of the copper metal market as a result of the war and, in part, to a tremenduous volume of scrap copper that came on to the world's market at the close of the war. These four copper properties have a combined producing capacity of about 500,000,000 pounds per year. The world's

production of new copper (that excludes reworked scrap) was, according to the United States Geological Survey, 2,432,000,000 pounds for the year 1918, which was the year of highest production in history. Upon that basis, the Jackling properties have a producing capacity of something over 20 per cent of the new copper of the world. On capacity production of all these mines, which is 500,000,000 pounds per year, the value of gold and silver—one incidental to the production of copper—would be $3,000,000. With the value of copper itself at today's market of seventeen cents, being $85,000,000 it brings the total to $88,000,000 per year. The Butte and Superior Company produces zinc which at today's market price has a value of $7,000,000 per annum in addition to $2,000,000 a year in gold and silver values. Taken together, the value of production at capacity of the five principal mines, is not far from $100,000,000 a year at the metal prices of today.

From Salt Lake to Idaho and Montana; back through Utah into Nevada and New Mexico and then to New York is a trip of several thousand miles. Mr. Jackling visits each of the properties at least twice every year and usually oftener. He carries his office with him every mile of the way. On his steam yacht and in his private car his books, maps, drawings and papers are always at hand. The equivalent of four months each year is spent at his headquarters in San Francisco. The equivalent of three months is spent at the New York offices of the companies which he visits regularly twice a year. The remaining five months are spent in travel to and from the properties and New York and at the various points of activity of the industries. If Mr. Jackling should start out to visit and spend one day at each such point, on a single continuous trip, it would require forty-five days to make the rounds.

Jackling's mining interests look like a man-sized job. However, beside being president of five mining companies and vice-president of five other mining companies, he is the vice-president of three railroads, director in two steamship companies, a bank and a corporation. As well as having a membership in the society of American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers and in the Mining and Metal-

lurgical Society of America, Mr. Jackling is a member of several clubs in San Francisco, New York City and Salt Lake City.

During the war, Mr. Jackling was appointed director of an administrative unit created in the office of the Secretary of War for the construction and operation of smokeless powder and other explosive plants; this unit being designated as United States Government Explosive plants. He also served by appointment of Major-General Goethals, as a member of the staff of the Director of Purchase, Storage and Traffic. He served in these capacities until the post-war business of the departments involved was completed. In October, 1919, Mr. Jackling was awarded the distinguished service medal, "for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services as Director of United States Government Explosive Plants."

Mr. Jackling has not been so spoiled by fortune as to be unable to learn. To his administration of big affairs he applies a mind that is adaptable to new problems, and shows ability to remember intricate details easily. He knows when he makes a mistake and frankly acknowledges it. The career of Mr. Jackling is romantic but it is also an encouragement to work hard and intelligently, not alone to make money, but to win the supreme delight of a great achievement.

JAYHAWKERS IN MISSOURI, 1858-1863[1]

BY HILDEGARDE ROSE HERKLOTZ

FIRST ARTICLE

CHAPTER I

Conditions on the Kansas-Missouri Border, 1854-1858.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which gave to the people who should settle in those territories the right to decide for themselves the question of slavery or freedom, opened up a new strife between the anti-slavery and pro-slavery forces. At first, most people seemed to think that Kansas would become a new home for slavery, and as soon as the bill was signed, large numbers from Missouri began to make settlements in the new territory. Free-state men, however, felt that Kansas should not be colonized by slaveholders. Eli Thayer, of Massachusetts, organized the "Emigrant Aid Company" and in July, 1854, emigrants were sent to Kansas by the Company for the purpose of making it a free state.[2] Missouri was indignant at this action, and Blue Lodges were organized to assail the abolitionists in the Territory.[3] The first governor of the Territory, Andrew Reeder, of Pennsylvania, set November 29, 1854, for the election of a delegate to Congress, and on this day seventeen hundred and twenty-nine Missourians came over into Kansas and increased the pro-slavery vote.[4] At the next election, in March, 1855, three-fourths of the votes were cast by Missourians, and the result was a pro-slavery territorial legislature.[5] The anti-

[1] This thesis was prepared under the direction of Dr. Thomas Maitland Marshall, Professor of History at Washington University.

[2] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 78-79.

[3] Spring, *Kansas*, 41. A good account of the inroads of the Missourians into Kansas may be found in Klem, *Missouri in the Kansas Struggle*, M. A. Thesis, Washington University.

[4] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 80.

[5] *Ibid.*, 81.

slavery party set up an opposition legislature and paid no attention to the territorial laws. Thus there were now two governments and two sets of people directly hostile to each other.[6]

Such a state of affairs naturally gave rise to an era of lawlessness, and guerrila warfare was the result. Free-state marauders robbed pro-slavery residents, and border ruffians plundered the free-state settlers. From November 1, 1855, to December 1, 1856, it was estimated that two hundred lives had been lost. The amount of property destroyed in the same period was not less than two million dollars.[7]

In the autumn of 1856, G. W. Clarke, an Indian Agent, with a gang of Missourians went into Linn and Miami counties and destroyed crops, seized cattle and horses, burnt a number of houses, and drove a few of the offensive settlers out of the Territory. The free-state men in southeast Kansas joined together for mutual defense against the border-ruffians of Missouri, and they received the name of "Jayhawkers".[8]

Differences of opinion exist as regards the origin of this word. Some trace the word to a remark made by Pat Devlin, a free-state Irishman, who, one autumn morning in 1856, rode into Osawatomie on a horse heavily laden with many kinds of goods. When a neighbor asked him where he had been, he replied, "Jayhawking." When called upon to explain what he meant by jayhawking, he said, "In the Old Country we have a bird called the jayhawk which kind o' worries its prey before devouring it. It seemed to me as I was riding home that this was a good name for the business I've been in."[9]

Connelley, in his *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, thinks that this Pat Devlin fiction concerning the word is not worth any serious consideration. A group of people who crossed Death Valley in 1849 called themselves Jayhawkers, but they themselves did not know why. One member of the party

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[6] *Ibid.*, 103.
[7] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 216.
[8] Spring, *Kansas*, 239-240.
[9] Spring, *Kansas*, 240; Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 133; Stevens, *Centennial History of Missouri, 1820-1921*, II, 528.

claimed that the word was "coined" by him when the party reached the Platte River, but other members of the company made no such claim.[10] Jayhawking might be said to be one of those terms which mean nothing in themselves, but are exceedingly significant to those who understand them. It may be defined in general as a species of land privateering or political freebooting. The Jayhawkers banded together like other marauders and galloped over the country, appropriating horses, cattle, farming implements, guns, and, in short, whatever came in their way. They claimed that they never robbed or hung anyone who entertained the same political opinions as themselves.[11] They were Unionists and Abolitionists who professed to rob, burn out, and murder only rebels in arms against the Government. During the Civil War the antithesis of the Jayhawker was the Bushwhacker, a rebel who banded with others for the purpose of preying upon the lives and property of Union citizens.[12]

The loss of slave-property in Missouri as a result of the increasing number of free-state settlers in Kansas was unbearable.[13] The slave-stealing law was very severe. An Act, which was approved January 4, 1843, declared any person guilty of grand larceny if he should "entice, decoy, or carry away, out of Missouri any slave belonging to another, with intent to deprive the owner of the services of such slave, or with intent to procure or effect the freedom of such slave." If convicted, the guilty person was to be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than five years.[14]

Persons were convicted under the slave-stealing laws as was shown by the reports of the inspectors of the penitentiary to the General Assembly. In 1854 there were seven convicts

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[10] Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 246.

[11] *Daily Missouri Republican*, October 3, 1861.

[12] C. M. Chase to the *True Republican and Sentinel*, August 10, 1863, in Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 412.

[13] Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865", in Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXXII*, No. 2, p. 185.

[14] Missouri, *Laws*, 12 Gen. Assem., 1 Sess., 133; Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865," in Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXXII*, No. 2, p. 176.

confined for attempting to decoy slaves.[15] In 1858 there were six in the penitentiary for the same offense;[16] in 1860 there were ten such convicts;[17] and in 1862 there were two persons confined for stealing slaves and nine for the attempt to decoy slaves.[18]

Missouri was excited over the escapes of her slaves, and on February 14, 1855, resolutions were drawn up to the effect that since the right of property in slaves is recognized by the Constitution of the United States, and the slave states of the Union have a valid claim on the Government of the United States for the protection of that property, the Missouri Representatives in Congress should demand that the Federal Government secure these states in their slave property. A copy of these resolutions were to be sent to the senators and representatives in Congress who were to bring them to the attention of the Executive Department of the Government at Washington.[19]

Attempts were made by two members of the legislature, Mr. Davis and Mr. Greene, to introduce amendments to the patrolling laws. Patrols consisting of not less than three, nor more than five active and efficient men were to be appointed by the courts in the counties on the Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas borders. These patrols were to observe closely the conduct of slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes in such counties, and to catch all runaway slaves. In addition to this, they were to arrest all white persons who were engaged in illegal intercourse with slaves. All the boats and other craft used at the public licensed ferries were to be fastened at night, or when not in use, in order that runaway slaves might not have the means of escape. If the keeper of such licensed ferries refused to secure the boats kept there, he was to forfeit one thousand dollars to the state. To carry out the provisions

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[15] Missouri, *Senate Journal*, 17 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 223.
[16] Missouri, *Senate Journal*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 138.
[17] Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 314.
[18] Missouri, *Senate Journal*, 22 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 126.
[19] Missouri, *House Journal*, 18 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 313.
[20] Missouri, *House Journal*, 18 Assem., Adj. Sess., 276-278; Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865," in Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, ***XXXII***, **No. 2, pp. 202-203.**

of this Act, the county courts were to levy a special tax on all the slave property of the state. The House rejected the proposed amendments, but they were, nevertheless, ordered to be printed in the appendix of the House Journal.[20]

Missouri suffered probably more from loss of slaves than did any other slave state, due to the fact that there existed in Kansas a certain group of free-state men who felt that it was their solemn duty to help the negroes to escape from their masters. One of the most prominent members of this group, in fact the leader in the border warfare between Missouri and Kansas from 1856 to 1860 was James Montgomery. He was always a free-state man, although he was a resident of Kentucky and Missouri for seventeen years before he came to Linn County, Kansas, in 1854.

The original incentive for Montgomery's "taking to the brush" was the Clarke raid from Missouri into Kansas in 1856. In order that he might get the names of the men who took part in this raid he visited Missouri disguised as a schoolteacher and actually taught school for two weeks. At the end of that time, having received the information he desired, he closed the school, appeared as a leader of Jayhawkers, captured twenty of the pro-slavery raiders, and assisted the free-state men, who had been driven away from their homes on the Little Osage, in Bourbon County, to regain possession of their claims. The pro-slavery settlers who had occupied these claims after the Clarke raid were driven off.[21] Montgomery's actions after this raid led to frequent efforts on the part of the pro-slavery men to retaliate, for they feared and hated him more than anyone else.[22]

To understand the movements of Montgomery and his men, it is necessary to know that they always had a knowledge of the plans of the so-called Ruffians in Missouri and at Fort Scott in Bourbon County, Kansas, in time to defeat them. This information was supplied by spies who were stationed in the "Secret Lodge" in Missouri and in the lodge at Fort

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[21] Spring, *Kansas*, 239; Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, 302.

[22] Letter to the *New York Evening Post*, June 4, 1858, in Villard, *John Brown—A Biography Fifty Years After*, 350.

Scott. At times when the Ruffians felt that they were safe and secure, and that Montgomery and his party were far away from them, the latter would suddenly alarm them by making an unexpected appearance. Because of such conduct on their part, Montgomery and his men received the title of "Jayhawkers," because their action was something like that of a hawk who suddenly and unexpectedly pounced upon some jaybird.[23] This band of men conducted their operations with as much order as a regular army. They claimed to be free-state men, and pretended to plunder and kill only pro-slavery men. The people of the border counties in Missouri were threatened by these outlaws.[24]

In May, 1858, Montgomery and his Kansas banditti pushed their adventures into Missouri and began the robbing, murdering and plundering which characterized the whole Jayhawking era. The people of Bates County were greatly alarmed, and at a meeting of a portion of the citizens at West Point on June 5, Joseph Clymer was appointed to make out a detailed statement of the invasion of Missouri and other outrages which had been committed by outlaws of the Kansas Territory upon citizens of Missouri, and submit the same to the Governor of Missouri, or to any other officer acting under his authority. According to Clymer, these outlaws had been engaged in the business of threatening, robbing and driving out of the Kansas Territory citizens whom they did not like, and the persons who had thus been driven out sought shelter in Missouri. Although Missourians had done all in their power to make these people comfortable, they had abstained from any interference in the affair. Nevertheless, Montgomery and his men declared that, after they had driven out of the Territory all men whom they did not like, they would attack Missouri, and Butler and West Point were to be the first victims. About May 14 a company of Montgomery's men crossed into Bates County and took two horses from Reverend George W. Geyer and a saddle from Dr. A. P. Brown. Similar

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[23] Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 515.

[24] Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict*, 435.

deeds were committed until May 20, when a large body of men entered West Point, marched through the town in a defiant manner, but did not plunder it, due to the fact that the citizens of the town were stationed in their homes and were prepared to fight if they should be called upon to do so. From West Point, they went to the home of Mr. Jack Clark, robbed his house of everything valuable, and then destroyed the furniture. On or about May 21 or May 22 some twenty or twenty-five men again crossed over into Bates County, and chased some of the citizens several miles, but did not catch them because they sought shelter in the timber. Also in May, Dr. Rockwell, who had been attending professional calls in Kansas Territory, was attacked by eight armed men and robbed of about three hundred dollars, his horse and buggy, his pistols, and his watch. Every day the outlaws threatened to come over into Missouri and destroy West Point, Butler, and Papinsville. The citizens, as a result, lived in a constant state of fear, and, being unable to defend themselves, appealed to the State Government for protection.[25]

Governor Stewart believed that the citizens of Bates County had cause to fear for the safety of their lives and their property. On May 31, Adjutant-General G. Parsons was instructed to proceed to the western portion of the state to ascertain the extent of the trouble and to take the steps necessary for the adequate protection of the people. He was to provide for the immediate organization of military companies in the counties nearest the scene of difficulty so that they could be called into service should the necessity arise. He was, however, not to cross the Kansas line.[26]

According to these instructions, General Parsons proceeded to Harrisonville, Missouri, and on June 5 organized the "Cass County Guards." On the sixth he went to Butler in Bates County, and on the seventh four volunteer companies were raised, but none of them was organized. The

[25] Viles, "Documents Illustrating the Troubles on the Border, 1858," in *Missouri Historical Review*, I, 201-204.

[26] Stewart to Parsons, May 31, 1858, in *Missouri Historical Review*, I, 200.

Division Inspector for the Sixth Military District was requested to organize these companies as well as any companies in Vernon County which the people there might think proper to organize. At Austin and at Pleasant Hill in Cass County, Colonel Blakey, Division Inspector for the Fifth Military District, organized the "Austin Blews" and the "Pleasant Hill Rangers." General Parsons was of the opinion that these local volunteer companies would not be a sufficient protection to the border counties because they were spread over a large territory and could not be gotten together in time to repel an invasion or prevent depredations by the outlaws.[27] The companies, however, served for a time to prevent threatened invasions, but the people in these counties urged that they could not cultivate their farms and protect themselves, and that they were, therefore, entitled to aid from other sources.[28] Accordingly, Governor Stewart wrote to Governor Denver of Kansas and informed him that since the citizens in Cass and Bates Counties were liable to be attacked by marauding parties from the Kansas Territory, it would probably be necessary to station an armed force along the border for protection.[29] Governor Denver informed Governor Stewart on August 18 that peace was restored in the southeastern part of the Territory through the efforts of a detachment of United States troops and a small company of volunteers. The former troops were withdrawn, but the volunteer force under the command of Captain A. I. Weaver was retained to prevent persons committing offenses against the laws of one state from escaping to other states. He felt certain that the officers and people of the Territory along the border would co-operate with the authorities on the Missouri side of the line in punishing offenders, and hoped that the civil authorities would be capable of protecting the people without the aid of the military.[30]

[27] Parsons to Stewart, June 16, 1858, in *Missouri Historical Review*, I, 208-209.

[28] Stewart to Senate and House, January 6, 1859, Missouri, *House Journal*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess., 68.

[29] Stewart to Denver, August 7, 1858, in *Missouri Historical Review*, I, 213.

[30] Denver to Stewart, August 18, 1858, in *Missouri Historical Review*, I, 214-215.

Governor Stewart also corresponded with President Buchanan and informed the latter that, owing to the "repeated depredations of one or more marauding parties from Kansas," he had ordered the militia to Cass and Bates Counties to protect the lives and property of the citizens there until the Federal Government could relieve the State from the burden. He feared, however, that the presence of such a force along the border would "fan the flames of sectional strife," and he urged that United States troops be sent there, for their presence would offer no excuse for sectional discord.[31] Secretary of War John B. Floyd answered this complaint on September 9 by stating that there were no troops available which could be employed in that way. The army was fully occupied in the field or at military posts which could not be given up without injury to the service.[32] For a time these measures caused the disorders to subside, and there was no more serious trouble until John Brown's raid.[33]

CHAPTER II

JOHN BROWN'S RAID, 1858

It was the State of Kansas which gave John Brown his first distinction. He arrived in Kansas in October, 1855, and joined his sons who had come to the Territory some time before him.[1] The motive which led him to Osawatomie was not his eagerness to aid his sons, although they had appealed to him to send arms to the Territory, but his powerful desire to strike a blow at the slave system. Throughout his life, John Brown was a determined abolitionist. As early as 1839 he seemed to have had a definite idea of attacking slavery by force in one of its strongholds, and from that time forward he devoted himself chiefly to the task of accomplishing the

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[31] Stewart to Buchanan, August 9, 1858, Missouri, *House Journal*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess. App., 78.

[32] Floyd to Stewart, September 9, 1858, Missouri, *House Journal*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 78.

[33] Stewart to the Senate and the House, January 6, 1859, Missouri, *House Journal*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess., 69; Spring, *Kansas*, 253.

[1] Spring, *Kansas*, 138.

great object of his life.[2] His purpose was to have an army of slaves and free negroes stationed where it could best annoy the slaveholders and make their property unsafe.[3] He did not believe in peaceful methods. He thought that the use of violence would be the only way to put a stop to the disorders in Kansas.[4] When Lawrence was threatened by the pro-slavery forces on May 21, 1856, John Brown and his family hastened to defend it, but before they reached the town they learned that it had been destroyed. Brown felt that the acts of this pro-slavery horde must be atoned for, and the Pottawatomie murders were the result of this desire for retaliation. For the five free-state men who had been killed in the previous six months, five pro-slavery men were murdered. This deed shocked the free-state men and inflamed the Border Ruffians.[5] Captain H. C. Pate and his "Westport Sharpshooters" sought revenge, but they were defeated by Brown in the fight at Black Jack on June 2.[6] The Pottawatomie massacre had embittered the struggle between the two contending sides and southeast Kansas continued to be the scene of lawlessness and marauding.[7]

Governor Denver and Governor Robinson sought to end the difficulties which had so long distracted this portion of Kansas, and on June 14, 1858, the former made a conciliatory address at Fort Scott. He "suggested the election of new county officers, the patrolling of the border by federal troops, delay in the execution of old writs until they should pass the ordeal of competent judicial tribunals, and the dispersion of all guerrilla bands." For a few weeks Kansas was quiet, but the reappearance of John Brown, who had been in the East for some months, renewed the disturbances.[8] This was Brown's last appearance in Kansas affairs, and nothing could have wound up this final visit to the Territory

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[2] Sanborn, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, 121.
[3] *Ibid.*, 137.
[4] Spring, *Kansas*, 140.
[5] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 162-165.
[6] Spring, *Kansas*, 152-156.
[7] *Ibid.*, 176.
[8] Spring, *Kansas*, 250-251.

in a more dramatic way than his raid into Missouri on December 19, 1858, and his liberation of eleven slaves by force of arms.[9]

The northwest part of Vernon County in what is now Henry Township was the scene of Brown's operations. There were only about a dozen slaves in this section. Slaveholders, however, were very uneasy after disturbances had been removed across the line, and a Mr. Hicklin, in particular, feared that the slaves belonging to the Lawrence estate of which he was in charge would be taken by Montgomery or Brown, should they invade the state. He, accordingly, arranged to have the administrator of the estate, Peter Duncan, take all the slaves on the plantation up into Lafayette and Jackson Counties on January 1, 1859, and hire them out or keep them there until peace should again reign in Kansas. The negroes on the estate, especially, Jim Daniels, learned of this plan, and knew, too, that there was a group of men in Kansas who would liberate them if they had the opportunity. On Sunday, December 19, Jim went to Bain's Fort on the north side of the Osage, seven or eight miles from the Missouri line, and told his tale of woe to John Brown and his men.[10] Arrangements were made to liberate the slaves on Monday night, if possible.

On the twentieth two parties made their way into Missouri. Brown and his party of about a dozen men arrived at the home of Harvey G. Hicklin on the north side of the Little Osage at midnight, and ordered him to surrender. Brown informed Hicklin that he intended to take all the negroes and free them, and that he was going to take provisions for them and property enough to maintain them until they were free.[11] According to a statement made by Mr. Hicklin to Justice of the Peace N. R. Marchbank on the following day, five negroes, two horses, one wagon, one yoke of oxen, a saddle, a shotgun, and other small articles were taken from the estate. From Hicklin's the party proceeded to the resi-

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[9] Villard, *John Brown—A Biography Fifty Years After*, 367.
[10] Holcombe, *History of Vernon County, Missouri*, 224-225.
[11] *Ibid.*, 226; Villard, *John Brown—A Biography Fifty Years After*, 368.

dence of John Larue about three-quarters of a mile away, took five more slaves, six head of horses, some bed clothing and wearing apparel, and forced John Larue and a boarder, Dr. A. Ervin, to go with them into the Territory about one-half mile west of Barnesville, where they were set free.[12]

In the meantime another party of eight men under one Stevens went to the home of David Cruise, a wealthy old man of sixty years, and took from him a woman slave, two yoke of oxen, two horses, and one wagon laden with provisions and clothing. While this was going on, Mr. Cruise naturally tried to defend himself, but he could not discharge his revolver because one of his boys had tied a ribbon around the cylinder in such a way that it would not revolve. Stevens took advantage of his situation, and fired instantly, killing Mr. Cruise on the spot. The raiders also went to the home of Hugh Martin about one-half mile east of Cruise's place, robbed him of a fine mule, and then returned to Bain's Fort across the Missouri line.[13]

John Brown told the story of this raid in a letter which was addressed to the *New York Tribune*, and published by that paper and in the Lawrence "Republican." The following is a statement of "Brown's Parallels":

Trading Post, Kansas, January, 1859.

Gentlemen:

You will greatly oblige a humble friend by allowing the use of your columns while I briefly state two parallels in my poor way.

Not one year ago eleven quiet citizens of this neighborhood—William Robertson, William Colpetzer, Amos Hall, Austin Hall, John Campbell, Asa Snyder, Thomas Stilwell, William Hairgrove, Asa Hairgrove, Patrick Ross, and B. L. Reed, were gathered up from their work and their homes by an armed force under one Hamilton, and without trial or opportunity to speak in their own defence were formed into line, and all but one shot—five killed and five wounded. One fell unharmed, pretending to be dead. All were left for dead. The only crime charged against them was that of being Free-State men. Now I inquire what action has

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[12] Missouri, *House Journal*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 79; *Jefferson City Enquirer* quoted in the *Daily Missouri Democrat*, December 30, 1858.

[13] *Daily Missouri Democrat*, January 5, 1859; Holcombe, *History of Vernon County*, Missouri, 228-229.

ever, since the occurrence in May last, been taken by either the President of the United States, the Governor of Missouri, the Governor of Kansas, or any of their tools, or by any pro-slavery or Administration man, to ferret out and punish the perpetrators of this crime?

Now for the other parallel. On Sunday, December 19, a negro man called Jim came over to the Osage settlement from Missouri, and stated that he, together with his wife, two children, and another negro man, was to be sold within a day or two, and begged for help to get away. On Monday (the following) night, two small companies were made up to go to Missouri and forcibly liberate the five slaves, together with other slaves. One of these companies I assumed to direct. We proceeded to the place, surrounded the buildings, liberated the slaves, and also took certain property supposed to belong to the estate. We, however, learned before leaving that a portion of the articles we had taken belonged to a man living on the plantation as a tenant and who was supposed to have no interest in the estate. We promptly returned to him all we had taken. We then went to another plantation, where we found five more slaves, took some property and two white men. We moved all slowly away into the Territory for some distance, and then sent the white men back, telling them to follow us as soon as they chose to do so. The other company freed one female slave, took some property, and, as I am informed, killed one white man (the master) who fought against the liberation.

Now for a comparison. Eleven persons are forcibly restored to their natural and inalienable rights, with but one man killed, and all "hell is stirred from beneath." It is currently reported that the Governor of Missouri has made a requisition upon the Governor of Kansas for the delivery of all such as were concerned in the last named "dreadful outrage." The Marshal of Kansas is said to be collecting a posse of Missouri (not Kansas) men at West Point, in Missouri, a little town about ten miles distant, to "enforce the laws." All pro-slavery, conservative, Free-State, and dough-face men and Administration tools are filled with holy horror.

Consider the two cases, and the action of the Administration party.

Respectfully yours,
John Brown.[14]

After writing the "Parallels," Brown went to Lawrence to make preparation for taking the slaves to Canada. He

[14] *Daily Missouri Democrat*, January 24, 1859; Sanborn, *The Life and Letters of John Brown*, 481-483.

left Lawrence with his party on January 24, 1859, and traveled northward slowly. On the twenty-ninth he was stopped a little north of Holton in Jackson County by a band of pro-slavery men who were sent to capture him. Brown sought shelter in a log cabin belonging to Albert Fuller. Colonel John Ritchie came up from Topeka with re-enforcements to relieve him. The posse fled and the free-state men pursued them and captured two prisoners, James Green of Atchison and Dr. Hereford of Kansas City. After this affair, known as the "Battle of the Spurs," the journey was continued and Tabor, Iowa, was reached on February 5, 1859. The party then went by way of Chicago and Detroit, and on March 12, the little band of freed negroes was landed safely in the town of Windsor, Canada.[15]

This raid of Brown's, coming as it did after the joint attempt of the Governors of Missouri and Kansas to conciliate the opposing forces in these two states, produced great excitement in Missouri.[16] Runners were sent into all the adjacent counties for help, and an invasion of Kansas was contemplated. Many citizens of free-soil inclinations were ordered to leave the State.[17]

This excitement was increased by the fact that another band of Jayhawkers, led by Captain Eli Snyder, crossed the line from Linn County on December 30, and attacked the home and store of Jeremiah (Jerry) Jackson, a wealthy farmer of Bates County, who resided about two miles from the border. They robbed him of goods valued at more than six thousand dollars, and set fire to the building. Several volleys were aimed at Jackson, and he returned the fire until the flames compelled him, together with his son and son-in-law, who were with him, to abandon the house. They succeeded in making their escape. The robbers stole four horses from the place and then went over the line into Kansas.[18]

[15] Hinton, *John Brown and his Men*, 224-227; Holcombe, *History of Vernon County*, Missouri, 234; *Daily Missouri Republican*, February 8, 1859.

[16] Carr, *Missouri, A Bone of Contention*, 253.

[17] *Daily Missouri Democrat*, January 5, 1859.

[18] *Jefferson City Examiner*, January 6, 1859, quoted in *Daily Missouri Democrat*, January 8, 1859; Captain Mooney to Governor Stewart, January 4, 1859, in *Missouri Historical Review*, I, 296.

Governor Stewart received two petititions at this time, one signed by twelve citizens of Bates County, the other by twenty-three citizens of Vernon County, asking him to send a sufficient number of men to the border line to "protect the citizens from the insult, outrage, and lawless violence of these outlaws and desperadoes" from the Territory of Kansas. The lawless band from Kansas was organized, whereas they were "unorganized, without arms, ammunition, or means of subsistence."[19]

In his message to the Senate and the House of Representatives on January 6, 1859, Governor Stewart summarized the troubles to that date, beginning with Montgomery's incursion into Bates County in May, 1858, and ending with the more recent invasion by John Brown. In May General Parsons had been ordered to investigate conditions on the western border. He organized local volunteer companies wherever they were needed. But the people thought that they were entitled to aid from other sources, and Governor Stewart, agreeing with them in this respect, wrote to President Buchanan asking him to send Federal troops to protect the people on the western border, for he feared that the presence of State troops there would increase sectional strife. He received an answer from the War Department stating that no troops were available for this purpose. Difficulties had subsided until Brown's raid, when the people again appealed to him for protection. Governor Stewart was anxious that the people of the border counties should receive all the protection to which they were entitled, and he asked the Legislature for more liberal power to call out the militia.[20]

This message was accompanied by several documents including two petitions from citizens of Bates and Vernon Counties, the affidavits of Harvey Hicklin and Isaac Larue concerning the property taken from them by Brown on December 20, and the correspondence between Governor Stewart and President Buchanan.[21]

[19] Missouri, *House Journal*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 79-80.

[20] Stewart to the Senate and the House, January 6, 1859, Missouri, *House Journal*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess., 68-70.

[21] Missouri, *House Journal*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess., 78-80.

The Senate at once proceeded to a consideration of the message, and Mr. Peyton introduced a bill which authorized the Governor to call upon the militia of Bates, Cass, Jackson, Johnson, Henry, Lafayette, Saint Clair, and Vernon Counties to organize themselves into mounted volunteer companies to enlist for a period of two years, and the company reporting first was to be stationed along the western border for not more than four months, at the end of which time the next company reporting was to be stationed there, and so on until all the compaies had served. These companies were to furnish their own horses, saddles, bridles, and clothing without expense to the State. As compensation for service on the border, each private was to receive twelve dollars a month for the time he was in service. In order that the provisions of this bill might be carried out, thirty thousand dollars was appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.[22] This bill was read twice, and on motion of Mr. Robinson was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations, who gave a lengthy report on the situation.[23] This Committee disagreed with the provisions of the bill because they thought that it did not provide sufficient protection for the citizens, and believed that the stationing of an armed force along the border would be looked upon by the enemies of popular government as a proof of the instability of institutions which were founded on the right of the people to self-government. Another objection arose from the fact that the troops were to be raised from counties on the border where the people were already embittered by the robberies and murders which had been committed there. A company raised among such people could not be easily restrained from punishing severely any desperadoes who might fall into their hands, and they would be inclined to go outside of their jurisdiction, not realizing the evils which would attend an "armed invasion of a sister territory by the militia of a state." The passage of such a bill, the Committee believed, would do

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[22] *Daily Missouri Republican*, January 8, 1859.

[23] Missouri, *Senate Journal*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess., 61.

"greater injury to the cause of liberal principles and confederated government than almost any other conceivable calamity." They prepared a substitute bill by which they authorized the Governor to offer a reward of three thousand dollars for the capture of any outlaw who had committed outrages upon the citizens of Missouri. Special terms were to be held by the circuit judges in the troubled districts in order that offenders might be brought to justice.[24]

In the Senate Mr. Peyton gave an eloquent speech in which he cited reasons why his bill ought to pass. "The sanctity of Missouri soil," he said, "has been invaded and must be avenged." It was necessary to pursue the thieves at any cost and to punish the invaders, in order to render the frontier of the State as safe as the interior.[25]

The members of the Legislature hesitated to take any hasty action, and on January 26 Governor Stewart again urged the Assembly to adopt measures of relief.[26] It was not, however, until February 24, 1859, that the Governor was able to attach his signature of approval to "an act for the protection of persons and property on the western border of this state."[27] This act appropriated thirty thousand dollars to enable the Governor to raise a military force to suppress the banditti on the western border. He was required to employ such force from as near the scene of difficulty as was practicable.[28]

The southeast portion of Kansas Territory was placed under martial law after the Brown raid into Vernon County, and the attack on the home of Jerry Jackson in Bates County. Governor Medary of Kansas ordered four companies of United States Dragoons to the region, commissioned the officers of the four companies of the militia which were to be raised in Linn and Bourbon Counties, and telegraphed the Secretary of War to send arms and ammunition from Saint

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[24] Missouri, *House Journal*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 107-112.
[25] *Daily Missouri Republican*, January 8, 1859.
[26] Missouri, *House Journal*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess., 151.
[27] *Ibid.*, 345.
[28] Missouri, *Laws*, 20 Assem., 1 Sess., 8-9.

Louis by express to Tipton.[29] Governor Medary and Governor Stewart united efforts in preserving order on the border and in protecting the lives and property of citizens on both sides of the line.[30]

At the same time that Brown liberated the eleven negroes, Dr. John Doy of Kansas attempted to conduct thirteen runaway slaves by way of Iowa to Canada, but he and his son were captured by a company of Missourians about twelve miles from Lawrence, and taken to Weston, Missouri, whence they were put in the Platte County Jail to await trial on a charge of abducting slaves from Missouri. A large number of citizens of Leavenworth met on January 29 and appointed a Dr. Johnson and a Mr. Hughes to urge the Circuit Judge of Platte City to release Doy and his son, but he refused to do so, stating that they were in the hands of pro-slavery men by whom they should be tried. The Kansas Legislature appropriated one thousand dollars to employ counsel for Doy at his trial, and two lawyers were sent over to defend him. Because of the prejudice against the prisoners at Platte City, Doy and his son were sent to Saint Joseph for trial. At the first term of the Circuit Court of Buchanan County the jury failed to agree, but on the second day of the adjourned term, June 21, 1859, Doy was convicted and sentenced to serve five years in the penitentiary.[31] Doy was imprisoned but a short time when a party of anti-slavery Kansans, under James B. Abbott as Captain, carried out their plan of rescue. They got into the jail by convincing the jailer, Mr. W. Brown, that they had a desperate horse-thief with them whom it was necessary to put into jail. After gaining possession of the jail, they unmasked their actions, demanded the release of Doy, and warned the jailer that any attempt of his to give an

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[29] *Daily Missouri Republican*, January 6, 1859.

[30] Medary to Stewart, April 14, 1859, in *Missouri Historical Review*, I, 300.

[31] *Daily Missouri Democrat*, February 4, 1859; Abbott, "The Rescue of Dr. John W. Doy," in Kansas State Historical Society, *Transactions*, IV, 313-314; Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 570.

alarm would mean his death. They took Doy with them and escaped to Lawrence, Kansas.[32]

On May 9, the Grand Jury of the Circuit Court of Vernon County found several bills of indictment against the Kansas raiders. One of this band of outlaws, "Pickles" by name, who had been indicted by this Grand Jury, was arrested by citizens of Vernon County on August 6 and delivered to the Sheriff of that County for safe-keeping. This act aroused the anger of the Kansas outlaws, and the citizens of Vernon County received letters from James Montgomery threatening an invasion if they should refuse to release "Pickles." The people of Vernon County were greatly alarmed, and again petitioned Governor Stewart to station volunteer companies along the border until Kansas should have a Constitution, or could convince the Governor of Missouri that its people would obey the laws.[33] This was done and for a time comparative peace was established on the border. But the Jayhawking days were not yet over. November, 1860, was to see the inauguration of still more alarming disorders.[34]

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[32] *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, July 29, 1859; Abbot, "The Rescue of Dr. John W. Doy," in Kansas State Historical Society, *Transactions*, IV, 315-321.

[33] Doak to Stewart, August 16, 1859, in *Missouri Historical Review*, I, 303-304; Citizens of Vernon County to Stewart, August 25, 1859, in ibid., I, 305-306.

[34] Carr, *Missouri*, 256-257.

A CENTURY OF MISSOURI MUSIC

BY ERNST C. KROHN

PART FOUR

SEC. XII—CONTEMPORARY ORCHESTRAL COMPOSERS

Although the "Father of Waters" has inspired a Frederick Oakes Sylvester,[1] to create canvasses of imperishable beauty, this stream of magnificent distances has inspired no orchestral masterpiece. Perhaps some tonal master of the future will fashion an epic which will truthfully express the majesty, the romance, the fierce power of this Titan among rivers. More potent inspiration has been offered by the Indians whose canoes once swiftly sped over its broad expanse. Curiously enough, this powerful fount of primitive suggestion has reached our composers through the romantic pages of Longfellow's ever refreshing "Song of Hiawatha." With deft touches and the added spice of original Indian melodies, Ernest Richard Kroeger has achieved a powerful presentment of this hero's career. Kroeger's Symphonic Overture "Hiawatha" was first performed by the Thomas Orchestra at the Omaha Exposition, in July, 1898. With fragments of Longfellow's epic as his theme, Carl Busch, in his "Minnehaha's Vision,"[2] and "The Song of Chibiabos," has wrought two Symphonic Poems of transcendent beauty. Fascinated by the lure of Indian music, Busch arranged "Four Indian Tribal Melodies"[3] for String Orchestra. A further venture in this vein was his "Chant from the Great Plains,"[4] a Symphonic Episode for Military Band.

A fruitful source of musical inspiration has been the folk music of the American Negro. Maurice Arnold's "American

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[1] See Frederick Oakes Sylvester, *The Great River, Poems and Pictures*, Chicago, 1911.

[2] Score and Parts published by Franz Jost, Leipzig.

[3] Score and Parts published by Carl Fischer, New York.

[4] Condensed Score and Parts published by Carl Fischer.

Plantation Dances," an orchestral Suite conceived in the spirit of negro music, without utilizing actual plantation melodies, was first produced in New York City in 1894. It is claimed that this work first attracted Dvork's attention to Negro Folk Music.[5] A more recent composition employing the idiom of the negro folk songs, is the Symphonic Rhapsody "Negro Carnival" by Carl Busch, produced by the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, December 4, 1921. Redolent of the southern plantation are the melodies of Stephen Foster. Carl Busch has made very successful transcriptions for String Orchestra of two of these, "My Old Kentucky Home" and "Old Folks at Home."[6]

The great historical celebrations within recent years have enlisted the creative ability of some of our most talented composers. In celebration of the 150th aniversary of the founding of St. Louis, the St. Louis Pageant Drama Association presented on May 28 to 31, 1914, "The Pageant and Masque of St. Louis," a splendidly conceived spectacle. The "Pageant," presenting in three episodes the early history of St. Louis, was written by Thomas Wood Stevens. The Incidental Music to this stirring drama was written by Noel Poepping, a descendant of Jean Sale Lajoie, one of the original Thirty who settled St. Louis in 1764. A "March of the Pioneers" written by Ernest R. Kroeger also formed part of the score of this work. An old French Folksong from Ste. Genevieve, "La Gui Annee," was utilized in the middle section of Kroeger's march. The "Masque," a symbolical presentation of the spiritual phases of the evolution of St. Louis, was written by Percy Mackaye. The Incidental Music, for chorus and orchestra, was composed by Frederick Shepherd Converse, the eminent Boston composer.

The 100th anniversary of Missouri's admission to the Union, again afforded opportunity for a spectacular union of drama and music. The St. Louis Missouri Centennial Association presented a Centennial Drama at the Coliseum,

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[5] *International Who's Who In Music*; 1918, page 27, also Baker's *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, Third edition, page 28.

[6] Score and Parts published by Breitkopf & Haertel.

October 11 to 15, 1921. This drama, "Missouri, One Hundred Years Ago," really an historical play in two acts with a symbolical Prologue and Epilogue, was written by Thomas Wood Stevens. The Overture and the Incidental Music to the "Prologue" was composed by Gerald Tyler. The music, choral and orchestral, for the "Epilogue" was written by Frederick Fischer. The Incidental Music to the Play was composed by Noel Poepping. At an appropriate point Poepping introduced an old French Folk Song which seems to be of local origin, the "Chanson de L'Annee du Coup."[7] A fitting crown to all this Centennial music making was Ernest R. Kroeger's Festival Overture, "In Commemoration of the Admission of Missouri to the Union." This spirited composition received its initial performance at the first Popular Concert of the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, November 6, 1921.

The great composers of the Romantic Period, Beethoven, Schumann and Mendelssohn, developed to an inspired pitch of perfection the idea of expressing tonally the essence of some literary masterpiece. Modern composers have cultivated this species of composition quite extensively and have enriched the world with many beautiful works. Inspired by Tennyson's noble masterpiece, Carl Busch has written a "Prologue to the Passing of Arthur."[8] Robert Browning's "Ring and the Book" has afforded Samuel Bollinger material for a Dramatic Overture "Pompilia and Caponsacchi." Ernest R. Kroeger has written four Overtures on literary works as dissimilar as Byron's "Sardanapalus," Keats' "Endymion," Bryant's "Thanatopsis," and Chateaubriand's "Atala." The Symphonic Overture "Sardanapalus" was first performed in New York City, December 15, 1897, under the baton of Anton Seidl. The Overture "Thanatopsis" was first produced by Victor Herbert. Its St. Louis premier under Alfred Ernst took place December 15, 1898. "Endymion" Overture Pittoresque, was first played in 1902 by the St. Louis Choral

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[7] See Part One, Footnote 1.

[8] Score and Parts published by Breitkopf & Haertel.

Symphony Orchestra. Thomas Moore's "Lalla Rookh" inspired Kroeger's most successful orchestral composition, the "Lalla Rookh Suite." First performed at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, this delightful set of pieces has been produced by the leading American orchestras, not only once, but many times. George Elliott Simpson's Overture to "Red Rock" has been performed at Leipzig and at Kansas City.

The "Riddle of the Ages" has had no terrors for Samuel Bollinger, for he has boldly grappled with the Sphinx and reduced to tones its inmost thoughts. Basing his work on the Grecian fable of the Sphinx of Thebes, Bollinger evolved a Suite in five movements, depicting in turn "The Sphinx's Slumber," "The Awakening," "The Riddle," "A Theban Festival," and "The Death Song of the Sphinx." This remarkable work was awarded the Prize for Orchestral Composition in a Music Competition instituted by the St. Louis Art League in 1916. The American Symphony Orchestra produced it in Chicago, April 27, 1914. It was performed by the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra November 17 and 18, 1916. Classical mythology furnished Joseph Henry Menn the theme of his Symphonic Poem "Adonis." Alfred Robyn's Symphonic Poem "Pompeii" is also based on a classical subject, albeit an historical one.

The classical form of the "Symphony," a musical composition in three or more contrasted movements, has ever proved a temptation to ambitious composers. Relatively few composers are endowed with the fertility of melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic invention, the versatility of mood, the absolute mastery of form and orchestration, requisite to successful symphonic composition. The lure to excel in this most difficult branch of musical creation remains, however. We have a "Symphony in D minor" by Alfred Robyn, one in "G minor" by Paul Tietjens, and one in "D minor" by Carl Busch. Maurice Arnold's "First Symphony in F minor" was first performed in Berlin in 1907. Two movements from George E. Simpson's "Romantic Symphony" were performed by the Kansas City Symphony Orchestra. Simpson has also written an "American Symphony." Of Ernest R.

Kroeger's "Symphony in B flat" only the "Scherzo" has been produced. William H. Pommer's "Symphony" seems not to have been publicly performed. Frederic Lillebridge has composed the "Andantino" of a projected "Symphony in B minor." A short "Symphony" by August C. Eimer was played as far back as 1872.

The "Orchestral Suite," a set of short, contrasted pieces, is not so exacting a form of composition as is the "Symphony." It is a deservedly popular form of composition, for it affords opportunity for the introduction of pieces in dance form. Hans Harthan and Carl Busch have each written two "Suites." Albert Frederic Stoessel has in manuscript just one. "In Bohemia" is the title of Oswald Thumser's contribution, while Carl Valentine Lachmund attracts attention with an "Italian Suite." The St. Louis Symphony Orchestra played a "Scene de Ballet," March 24, 1912, and "Carnaval," February 5, 1922, both pieces from Paul Tietjens' "Symphonic Suite." Rocco Venuto's "Rosaline Suite" was performed by the Kansas City Symphony Orchestra, February 7, 1896, and the Kansas City Philharmonic Orchestra first produced George E. Simpson's two "Miniature Suites." A "Suite de Valses" by Ernest R. Kroeger was first performed by the St. Louis Musical Union Orchestra as far back as March 10, 1887. Richard Barnes Platt's "Suite for String Orchestra" was twice performed in Berlin and received one rendition by the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Ellis Levy's charming "Children's Suite" entitled "A Woodland Story" was first performed by the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, February 4, 1923. The five movements of this Suite depict in tones "The Hunter," "The Deer," "The Chase," "Through The Forest," and "Homeward Bound."

Our composers have not slighted the ever useful "Overture" in spite of their pursuit of the more pretentious forms. Overtures without distinguishing title have been composed by Carl Busch, Albert Stoessel, and Carl Valentine Lachmund. Lachmund's very successful "Japanese Overture" has been performed under the batons of Theodore Thomas and Anton Seidl. Ruthyn Turney's two "Overtures in Popular

Style," a "Romantic Overture" by George E. Simpson, a "Dramatic Overture" by Maurice Arnold, a "Concert Overture" by Edgar Sands Place, and a "Festival Overture" by John La Fon Biggerstaff, not to forget August C. Eimer's "Overture Leo XIII," about complete Missouri's contribution to this species of musical composition.

A great variety of orchestral pieces, short, long, and otherwise, remain to be noticed. The master musician, Johann Sebastian Bach, has inspired Frederic Lillebridge to compose a "Homage a Bach," and has provided August C. Eimer with the material for a "Conversation with Sebastian Bach, based on the D minor Prelude." "Five Symphonic Sketches" have been written by Mrs. Bessie M. Whiteley, and Mrs. Mary Houts Flagg has in manuscript a short piece entitled "On a Spring Morning." William John Hall has in his portfolio the scores of two Tone Poems, "Ecstasy" and "Victory." Oswald Thumser's "Hungarian Fantasie" was performed by the St. Louis World's Fair Orchestra; his "Serenade—In Amalfi" and his "Capriccio—La Belle Viennoise," both for String Orchestra, were produced by the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, February 11, 1917. Other compositions for String Orchestra are Carl Busch's "Elegy",[9] Maurice Arnold's "Tarantelle," and Ellis Levy's "Perpetuum Mobile." Ballet Music has been written by Maurice Arnold as well as by Carl Valentine Lachmund, whose compositions bear the titles "La Capricieuse" and "Coqueterie." Incidental Music to "La Habituel," a Pantomime, has been composed by Joseph Henry Menn, whose works include a "Legende," a "Scene de Ballet," and a "Valse Oriental." On March 12, 1922, the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra performed a very effective "Festival Procession" by George E. Simpson which attracted immediate attention to this well nigh unknown composer's work. His pieces for orchestra include a "Prelude," a "Romance," and a "Funeral March." Strongly characteristic pieces by Domenico Delledone, which have been performed by the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, are,

[9] Score and Parts published by Breitkopf & Haertel.

"Impressions of Cairo," "From Andalusia," a "Bolero," an "Andante," and an "Intermezzo" from his Incidental Music to the Pantomime "Ellenora d'Este." Characteristic pieces of Maurice Arnold's which might be mentioned here are a "Turkish March" and a "Danse de la Midway Plaisance." Albert Stoessel's snappy "Dutch Patrol"[10] and his melodious "Southern Idyl,"[11] Samuel Bollinger's "Waltzes," Lloyd Morey's "Barcarolle," and August C. Eimer's Canonic Variations "Bethlehem" will complete this enumeration of Missouri orchestral music.

This truly impressive record of achievement in a most difficult branch of musical composition is not exhaustive. Data in regard to the work of certain composers is either lacking or inconclusive. The names of Walter Stockhoff, Lucien Denni, N. de Rubertis, Victor G. Kreyer, Edward A. Schubert, and Robert W. Major might be mentioned in this connection. There are undoubtedly others who have eluded notice. However, enough has been brought forward to prove that contemporary Missouri composers have contributed their quota to the treasury of beautiful and inspiring orchestral music.

SEC. XIII—CONTEMPORARY CHAMBER MUSIC COMPOSERS.

The term "Chamber Music" suggests a more intimate type of music than that intended for the Concert Hall. In fact, it is applied to music written for combinations of solo instruments, so that we find chamber music compositions designated as Duos, Trios, Quartets, Quintets, Sextets, Septets, and even Octets.[12] Music of this type is particularly adapted to performance within the family circle or by groups

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[10] Parts published by Boston Music Company.

[11] Parts published by Boston Music Company.

[12] It should be noted that the terms "Quartet," "Trio," and so on, really refer to the number of instruments employed and not to the form of composition, which is that of the "Sonata" and "Symphony," a group of three or more contrasted pieces called "movements." However, by common usage the term "String Quartet" for instance, has come to designate the musical composition to be performed, as well as the combination of instruments utilized in its performance.

of enthusiastic amateurs. In its highest manifestations Chamber Music appeals most powerfully to the connoisseur. It is a most difficult species of composition and requires technical facility of the highest order. Nothing indicates better the high ideals of our contemporary composers than their diligent cultivation of the various types of Chamber Music.

By common consensus of opinion, the "String Quartet," two violins, viola, and cello, is regarded as the most perfect vehicle for the expression of purely musical thoughts. The great composers, notably Beethoven, wrote some of their most inspired compositions for this combination of instruments. It is agreeably surprising to note the number of "String Quartets" written by our composers. Ernest R. Kroeger has composed six, Alfred Robyn has written four, Max Gottschalk, three, Albert Stoessel, two, and single quartets have been completed by Carl Busch, Lloyd Morey, Wm. H. Pommer, Edwin William Sturt, Oswald Thumser, Paul Tietjens, and Ruthyn Turney. Ellis Levy has in manuscript an unfinished "String Quartet." Detached pieces for String Quartet include Maurice Arnold's set of "Valses," Harry E. Cooper's "Fugue," Joseph Henry Menn's "Scherzo" and "Andante Cantabile," Theodore Spiering's "Scherzo," and H. O. Wheeler's "Berceuse." Using authentic Indian melodies for his thematic material, Ruthyn Turney has written two "Indian Suites" for String Quartet. Of great utility are Albert Stoessel's twenty-four arrangements for String Quartet.[13] The String Quartet composed of four violins is particularly useful for violin students. Compositions for this ensemble have been written by Carl Valentine Lachmund and by Ellis Levy. Ernest R. Kroeger has composed a "Quartet in D minor" for Piano, Violin, Viola, and 'Cello.

The "String Quintet" is the usual String Quartet with an extra Viola or 'Cello, or even a Double Bass. Compositions for this combination have been written by Albert Stoessel, Ernest R. Kroeger, Oswald Thumser, and Edward A. Schubert.

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[13] Published by the Boston Music Company.

Stoessel's "String Quintet in C minor" had its initial performance at Amsterdam in 1915.

The "Piano Quintet" is the usual String Quartet with Piano. This is an extremely effective combination, the piano permitting the introduction of orchestral effects. Ernest R. Kroeger's "Piano Quintet in F minor" has been particularly successful. It was first performed in St. Louis in 1888. Several performances in 1890 and 1891 by the Detroit Philharmonic Club are noteworthy. At one of these Mme. Bloomfield-Zeisler performed the piano part. William Henry Pommer's extremely modern "Piano Quintet in D minor"[14] has had several St. Louis performances. Max Gottschalk's very effective "Piano Quintet in D minor" received its first performance at the St. Louis Convention of the Missouri Music Teachers' Association, June 27, 1918. In December of the same year, it was performed at the St. Louis Meeting of the Music Teachers' National Association. Among composers who have written "Piano Quintets" we must mention Alfred Robyn and Heinrich Hauer Bellamann.

"Trios" for Piano, Violin, and 'Cello have been written by Johannes Goetze, Max Gottschalk, Ernest R. Kroeger (two), William H. Pommer (two), Walter Wm. Stockhoff (three), and Ruthyn Turney (two). Pommer's "Piano Trio in E minor" won the Prize for Chamber Music Composition in the Competition instituted by the St. Louis Art League in 1916. Frances Marion Ralston has written a Piano Trio in five movements entitled "By The Pool." For the same combination of instruments is her set of "Five Dance Forms." Eleanor Davis has in manuscript an unfinished "Trio in F minor." Thomas Stanley Skinner's Piano Trio "Waltz Caprice" was played at the June, 1922, meeting of the Missouri Music Teachers' Association. Carl Busch's Trios for Violin, Viola, and Piano, "Berceuse," "Intermezzo," and "Pierrot at Pierrette," graced the very first program of the Missouri Music Teachers' Association at Sedalia, June 26,

[14] Published by D. Rahter, Leipzig.

1896. Busch's "Dialogue"[15] and his "Albumleaves"[16] have been published for Two Violins and Piano, as well as for Violin, 'Cello, and Piano. "Albumleaves" can also be had for Violin, Viola, and Piano. Ellis Levy has composed a Piano Trio entitled "Longing," while Carl Valentine Lachmund has in manuscript a "Trio" for Harp, Violin, and 'Cello.

"Duos" for two solo instruments sometimes call for odd combinations. A "Concertino" for Double Bass and Piano has been evolved by Ruthyn Turney, who has also written a number of pieces for Viola and Piano. A very pleasing "Pastorale Sonata in F" for Viola and Piano was brought out by Ernest R. Kroeger in 1883. A "Sonata in C minor" for the same instruments has been composed by William H. Pommer. Carl Busch's "'Cello Concerto" was performed several years ago at a concert of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra by their solo 'cellist, Beyer-Hane. Max Steindel recently played the "Adagio" with the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra. For 'Cello and Piano, Kroeger has written a very effective "Sonata in C minor" as well as a "Romanze in B flat." H. Max Steindel has composed a "Gavotte," while "Romances" for 'Cello and Piano have been written by Carl Busch and by George E. Simpson. Eleanor Davis' "Duo Classique" for Violin and 'Cello, Maurice Arnold's "Six Duets" for Violin and Viola, Carl Busch's "Aubade" for Flute and Piano, and Edward A. Schubert's "Duet" for Clarinet and Piano, will round out our survey of this species of Chamber Music.

For lack of a more appropriate place, we may here note the existence of a "Fantasie in E minor" for Flute by E. R. Kroeger, an "Adagio" for 'Cello by E. W. Sturt, a 'Cello solo "Over in France" by Eleanor Davis, a Harp solo "The Rivulet" by D. Delledone, "The Call of the Sea," also for Harp, by Eleanor Davis, and three Harp solos by Michael Angelo Russo, "Petite Minuet," "Oriental," and "Isle of June."

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[15] Published by Oliver Ditson Company.

[16] Published by Rohlfing Sons, Milwaukee.

The "Sonata" for Violin and Piano, has ever been a fascinating form of musical composition. Performance by technically proficient musicians is taken for granted, so that the composer need stop at nothing. With the masterpieces of Beethoven and Grieg in mind, he need but woo the Muse's gentle fancy to find inspiration dripping from his pen. To list the writers of "Violin Sonatas" is but to call the roll of our most genial composers. They are Maurice Arnold, Heinrich H. Bellamann, Samuel Bollinger, Carl Busch, Mrs. Rosalie Balmer Cale, Marcus I. Epstein, Ernest R. Kroeger;[17] Arthur Lieber, Richard Barnes Platt, William H. Pommer;[18] Albert Stoessel;[19] Paul Tietjens. Not content with writing "Sonatas," Max Gottschalk, Louis Conrath, and Ruthyn Turney have each composed a "Violin Concerto," which after all is but a "Violin Sonata" with higher aspirations—that is, to be accompanied by a Symphony Orchestra instead of the lowly Piano. Of pieces for Violin and Piano there are many of interest and artistic value. Albert Stoessel, brilliant violinist that he is, has composed two stirring "American Dances," a "Minuet on a Theme by Tschaikowsky," a "Humoresque," "Crinoline," "Dreams of a Summer Night," a "Lullaby," and a "Southern Idyl." Ellis Levy has written a very effective "Ghost Dance" which he recently played with the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra. Levy's compositions for Violin and Piano include a "Moto Perpetuo," a "Nocturne," a "Serenade Espagnole," "Cariole," a "Russian Suite," "Elegie," "Valse Serenade," "Rain Drops," and numerous shorter pieces. Hubert Bauersachs has written over forty pieces for Violin and Piano. Fifteen of these are brilliant concert pieces, particularly noteworthy being the "Mazurka d'Artistes," "Zingaresca," "Zephyr," "Un Sogno," "Desiderio del Demonio," "Fantasioso Caprice," "Menuetto," "Mazurka Brillante," and "Spanish Dance." Carl Busch has been very partial to the Violin. In addition to over thirty simple pieces he has written an "Indian Legend," a

[17] "Sonata in F sharp minor" published by Breitkopf & Haertel.
[18] "Sonata in A minor" published by D. Rahter, Leipzig.
[19] "Sonata in G" published by Boston Music Company.

"Romance," "Canzonetta," "Cavatina," "Meditation," "Serenade," and an "Arioso." Mrs. Berenice Crumb Wyer has in manuscript a "Serenade," a "Spring Fantasie," and "Twilight in the Garden," while Mrs. Rosalie Balmer Cale's compositions include a brilliant "Polonaise," "La Danseuse," "Canzone Amoroso," "Melody," "Romanza," and a "Tarantella." Maurice Arnold, Samuel Bollinger, Ernest R. Kroeger, Carl Valentine Lachmund, and William H. Pommer have all found time to write valuable pieces for Violin and Piano. Interesting music, some of it particularly valuable for pedagogical purposes, has been written by Elmore Condon, Louis Conrath, Eleanor Davis, Florence Dye, Ernst I. Erbe, Max Gottschalk, Carl Wilhelm Kern, Arthur Lieber, Wort S. Morse, Hugo Olk, Louis Retter, George E. Simpson, T. Stanley Skinner, and Edwin W. Sturt. Mention must be made of Levy's "Violin Duets," Stoessel's "Suite for Two Violins," and Bauersachs' "Liebeslied" for Two Violins and Piano.

Theodore Spiering, the noted concert violinist, has in preparation a very comprehensive "Violin Method." A set of difficult "Caprices," as well as "Six Artist Studies" for Violin alone, reveal Spiering as a past master of the technique of the Violin. Ellis Levy's technical contribution consists of a set of "Twenty Grand Etudes." Of pedagogical value are Carl Busch's "Twenty-Four Easy Etudes," Stoessel's "Scale Studies," Bauersachs' "Scales," Louis Retter's "Melodious Violin Course," Morse's "Aid to Violin Technic," and Ruthyn Turney's "Technical Work for Violin."

SEC. XIV—CONTEMPORARY PIANO COMPOSERS.

To be hailed by the great Ferruccio Busoni as "America's most original composer" has been the unique experience of Walter William Stockhoff, musical autodidact. Master of a pianistic idiom at once modern and bizarre, Stockhoff's output has been slender but solidly wrought. A grandiose "Sonata, In Contemplation of the Nations at War",[20] "Twelve

[20] Published by Breitkopf & Haertel.

Quodlibets," a "Lullaby," and a set of seven Impressions "In the Mountains" complete his works for piano. More romantic, but still quite modern, are the works of Samuel Bollinger. Under the suggestive title "Chopinesques" were issued eight piano pieces of great musical interest, including a "Prelude—At Sea," "Nocturne," "Impromptu," "Idylle," "Barcarolle," "Humoresque," and two "Dances." Very characteristic are the "Scherzos," the "Romanzo Lamentoso," "Elegie," "Impromptu," "Sonnet," and the "Tone Poem." Still in manuscript are a "Symphonic Prelude," an "American Dance," "Trudging," and a "Romance."

The classical tendency is well exemplified in the piano works of Ernest R. Kroeger. Beginning with a "Prelude and Fugue in B flat minor," a "Suite in F minor," a "Sonata in D flat",[21] a "Concerto in E flat," and ending with twenty modern "Moods," his compositions exhibit a surprising versatility as well as a profound musical scholarship. Of great technical value are the "Twelve Concert Etudes" as well as the "Fifteen Left Hand Etudes." Typical of his many salon compositions are the ever charming "Egeria" and the graceful "Dance of the Elves." Of many characteristic pieces the "Ten American Character Sketches" possess the greatest interest. Pedagogically valuable are his many teaching pieces and the purely technical works "Hand Contractions and Expansions," "Whole Tone Scales and Arpeggios," and the "Elementary Piano Course." Several Piano Duets and a Duo for Two Pianos "Caprice Humoristique" complete Kroeger's voluminous output.

Not only Kroeger, but Louis Conrath, Marcus I. Epstein, Alfred Robyn, and Heinrich H. Bellamann have written "Concertos" for Piano and Orchestra. Conrath's "Concerto in B flat minor"[22] was first performed in St. Louis by Charles Kunkel at a Sunday Popular Symphony Concert conducted by I. L. Schoen, April 22, 1894. It was subsequently performed by Julie Rive-King in her appearances

[21] Published by Breitkopf & Haertel.
[22] Published by Kunkel Brothers Music Co., St. Louis.

with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. A "Concerto in G minor" and a "Concertstueck in C" for Piano and Orchestra give ample evidence of Conrath's mastery of this species of composition. Conrath has also written many popular salon pieces, several Piano Duets, and two Duos for Two Pianos, a "Sarabande and Variations" and an "Intermezzo." Heinrich H. Bellamann has written not only a "Concerto" but also a very valuable "Piano Sonata." Marcus I. Epstein's compositions include a "Polonaise in C sharp minor," a "Polka Caprice," a "Valse de Concert—California," two "Piano Duets," as well as his "Concerto in E minor." The gifted composer, Alfred Robyn, wrote numerous very popular piano pieces, but his "Concerto in C minor" remains his most substantial contribution to the literature of the piano. Robyn owes his election to the *Societe des Beaux Arts* of Paris to the excellence of six original piano compositions written at the request of that organization.

Maurice Arnold's "Piano Sonata" received its first performance at Cologne. In addition to many excellent characteristic pieces, Arnold has written a "Fugue" and a "Valse Elegante" for Two Pianos, eight hands. Carl Valentine Lachmund's "Concert Prelude" won the approval of Franz Liszt and was accorded a further distinction by the pianist Adolf Henselt, who made a brilliant concert transcription for his own concerts. Lachmund's works for Piano include a "Valse Impromptu," "Woodland Lullaby," and "Longing." Significant compositions are Theodore Spiering's "Five Impressions," Carl Busch's "Sketches for Piano," and W. H. Pommer's "Fantastica," and his "Andante Patetico con Variozini."

Richard Barnes Platt has in manuscript two "Piano Sonatas," six "Fugues," and a "Suite." He has written numerous shorter pieces, including "The Gulls," a "Nocturne," a "Chanson," and a "Valse Impromptu." John S. Thompson's contribution includes a "Hungarian Rhapsodie," an "Arabesque," a "Minuet Moderne," as well as a group of transcriptions of Violin classics (Sarasate's "Ziguenerweisen," Wieniawski's "Romance") and Songs (Schubert's "Du bist

die Ruh," Wagner's "Prize Song"). Pedagogically valuable are a "Guide to Scale Playing" and a "Second Piano Part" to Bertini's Opus 29. Among Missouri pianists who have written musically interesting pieces are Ottmar Moll, "Les Hirondelles Valse" and "Mazurka;" Daniel Jones, "Piano Sonata" and Concert Transcription for Left Hand of the "Evening Star from Tannhauser," Richard Canterbury, "Intermezzo," "Romance," "Scherzino;" Walter Buchanan Roberts, "Sonata in C minor" and "Concert Valse;" Guy Corken Allen, "Moments Visionary—Myth, Image, Clouds," "By Shadowy Stream," "With a Bird," "Danse Rustique," "Romance," "Waltz," and "Tarantella," Rudolph Gruen, "Valse," "Romance," "Gavotte," "Drifting," "Perpetual Motion," and "Dance of the Marionettes." At the risk of degenerating into a "dry-as-dust" inventory of Missouri's musical resources, let it further be noted that Rupert Hughes has in course of publication ten piano pieces, Albert Stoessel has published a "Hispania Suite," Gerald Tyler has in manuscript a "Sonata in E minor," Max Gottschalk has published a "Valse Romantique" and has in manuscript a "Suite" and many shorter pieces, and Arthur Lieber has published an exceptionally interesting "Novelette in Three Chapters—Pleadings, Yearnings, Memories." A "Concertino," a "Sonatine," and many smaller pieces have been written by Johannes Goetze, while Frederic Lillebridge has composed a series of "Preludes—Bach, Chopin, Schumann," a "Valse Triste," "Valse Caprice," "Polonaise," "Meditation," "Memories," "Prelude in E," and some Children's Pieces.

Remarkable work has been done by an extremely gifted group of women composers, among them Frances Marion Ralston, Nannie Louise Wright, Dorothy Gaynor Blake, and Berenice Crumb Wyer. Miss Ralston's compositions include a virile "Sonata in C sharp minor,"[23] a "Prelude and Fugue in G," a "Theme and Variations," "Six Pieces in the Greek Modes," "Six Etudes," "Six Preludes," "Three Impressions," "Orientales," "Fantasie Impromptu," "Impres-

[23] Published by Clayton F. Summy & Co., Chicago.

sions at Wellesley," and numerous smaller pieces. "Musical Ideas for Beginners," a very valuable elementary work, bears evidence of Miss Ralston's pedagogical skill. Nannie Louise Wright has been exceptionally successful as a writer of short pieces. Of particular interest are her concert pieces, among them the "Twelve Preludes," "Twelve Etudes," "Winter," "Spring," "Humoreske," and "Juggler." Miss Wright's "Piano Concerto" was performed in an arrangement for two pianos at the Carthage meeting of the Missouri Music Teachers' Association in 1916. Dorothy Gaynor Blake has enriched the literature of the piano with many fascinating pieces. Her compositions include "Three Sketches in Dance Form," "December," "May," "A Lilt," "Coquette," "Cornish Coast," "Arabesque," "Mazurka," a "Gavotte," and many teaching pieces. A fine "Suite in Four Movements" for Two Pianos, Four Hands, was recently performed at St. Louis. Treading in the footsteps of her mother, Mrs. Blake has written two very successful "Melody Books," a "Duet Book," as well as "Adventures in Style," all for elementary instruction. A brilliant pianist herself, Berenice Crumb Wyer has composed piano music which will tax the powers of her peers. Mrs. Wyer's compositions, which are unfortunately still unpublished, are a "Ballade in C sharp minor," a "Concert Etude in D flat," "A Madrigal," a "Serenade," a "Legende in A flat," "April," and "Two Poems—Of Chivalry, Of Romance." The "Ballade" was awarded the Prize for a Piano Composition in the St. Louis Art League Music Competition of 1916.

Specializing in material for elementary music instruction, Mrs. Anna Heuermann Hamilton's work has won widespread recognition. Among her piano books may be mentioned "My First Solos in Treble and Bass," "First Piano Lessons at Home," "Child Life, a Set of Eleven Duets," and "Twenty Easy Lessons in First Principles." Music of great musical interest, some of it excellent teaching material, has been written by Bella Robinson, Effie Rea Levering, Sarah F. Read, Mary M. Schmitz, M. Teresa Finn, Nanka Faucette, Fleta Jan Brown, Lucille Cook, Eleanor Davis, Mrs. Mad-

dalena Heryer Akers, Mrs. Rosalie Balmer Cale, Mrs. Lillian Craig Coffman, Mrs. Nellie Shorthill Bradshaw, Mrs. Anna L. Nussbaum, Mrs. Kaetchen H. Coddington, and Mrs. Regina Carlin.

The Mississippi River as a possible source of musical inspiration, was discussed in a previous section (XII). "The Great River" has proven a veritable fountain head of romantic suggestion to certain writers of piano music. The inevitable "Moonlight on the Mississippi" was portrayed in tones by two composers, Lucien Becker and Charles Drumheller. The writer of these lines owes to "river suggestion" the pieces "Sunset on the River," "Drifting," and "A River Romance," which, to be sure, may account for their watery nature. But it has remained for that genial composer of salon music, Carl Wilhelm Kern, to portray in all its phases the romantic "Father of Waters" and its confluent tributaries. Aside from a number of "River Pieces" such as "Moonlight on the River" and "Fantasie Barcarolle," his "Mississippi River Scenes" are intimate sketches of certain aspects of river life. On a musically higher plane are the "Missouri River Impressions." An harmonic idiom which was merely suggested in the "Mississippi Scenes" is here developed to a high pitch of romantic beauty. Of particular interest are the pieces "On Black Eagle Bluff," "The Haunted Isle," and "Dead Man's Slough." "Sketches from the Gasconade" and "Impressions from the Big River" are further contributions to musical river lore. Kern has been a very prolific writer of piano music, his published piano compositions numbering over one thousand. In his best vein are "Romance a la Valse," "Heart of the Hyacinth," "Passing Shadows," "Purple Twilight," and "From the Heart." Of simpler teaching pieces, the "Robinson Crusoe Suite" is the most popular.

Another very fertile writer, with a published output past the thousand mark, is Hans Harthan. The majority of his compositions are of great pedagogical value. Although no longer very productive, the veteran Charles Kunkel was an industrious and facile writer of piano pieces, all of which

were published by the firm of Kunkel Brothers. His greatest success was the "Alpine Storm," although many of his other pieces enjoyed an unprecedented popularity. Of great practical utility is his "Piano Pedal Method" published in 1893.

Innumerable teaching pieces of great practical utility have been written by such musicians as Otto Anschuetz, Edward M. Read, Louis Retter, A. C. Eimer, Arthur J. Davis, H. Stanley Walser, Edwin Vaile McIntyre, Arthur Lieber, Oliver Kleinschmidt, Ernst Krohn (Sr.), Donald Lowmiller, Chester Nordman, Hugo Hagen, Hunter Jones, Richard Whiting, and Walter Starck. Among the writers of successful salon music may be mentioned Edward M. Read, "Cloister Bells" and "Cathedral Echoes;" Ernst Krohn (Sr.), "Lingering Shadows," "Whisperings of Spring," and "For Thee;" A. C. Eimer, "Maryville Chimes;" H. S. Walser, "'Neath the Lilacs;" Otto Bollman, "Nearer My God To Thee;" Oliver Kleinschmidt, "Wounded Heart;" Edward E Menges, "Valse Poeme," "Valse Fantastique," and "Out of the Past."

Musicians who have written piano music, but whose names have escaped mention so far are, Harry E. Cooper, Charles Doerr, Elmore Condon, A. I. Epstein, Ernst I. Erbe, Hans C. Feil, Claude Fichthorn, Felix Heink, Alexander Henneman, Alfred Hubach, McNair Ilgenfritz, Ellis Levy, Robert W. Major, Joseph H. Menn, Robert E. Miller, Edgar S. Place, Nathan Sacks, Frederick Schillinger, Edward A. Schubert, George E. Simpson, Ernest Prang Stamm, Edwin W. Sturt, Paul Tietjens, and Ernest L. Walker.

Works of a purely technical nature or of pedagogical utility which merit mention are, Frederick Fischer's "Elementary Piano Method" and "Octave Studies;" Louis Retter's "Melodious Piano Course" and "Graded Piano Technics;" Robert E. Miller's "A B C Piano Course;" Perry O. Landon's "Practical Piano Studies for Beginners;" Carl Wilhelm Kern's "Twelve Easy Etudes for the Development of Velocity," and "Fifty Very First Studies;" Carl V. Lachmund's "New Etude Method of Technical Specialties;" and Charles Kunkel's

"Royal Piano Method," "Eclectic Graded Course of Studies," and "Twenty Characteristic Studies."

Incidental piano music of great musical value has been written by various composers for pantomimic or terpsichorean purposes. McNair Ilgenfritz, pianist and composer touring with the noted dancer Ruth St. Denis, has composed the music to the ballet "The Enchanted Princess," and to "Cambodia," an Oriental ballet. Elmore Condon's music for the pantomime "Merrygold," was produced by the St. Louis College Club at Shaw's Garden. Gerald Tyler's dance suite "Hassam" as well as his music to the pantomime "Little Red Riding Hood" have both been produced in St. Louis. Dr. Arthur Proetz's incidental music to "A Dream of Holidays" was performed at the St. Louis Coliseum, Christmas, 1915.

SEC. XV—CONTEMPORARY COMPOSERS OF ORGAN MUSIC.

The "King of Instruments" has inspired many a composition imbued with the devotional spirit and the simple dignity befitting the divine service. Its magnificent tonal possibilities as a concert instrument have been no less potent in stimulating the composition of brilliant concert pieces. The classic form of the Sonata has been utilized in the construction of several compositions of solid musical value. Carl Wilhelm Kern, T. Stanley Skinner, and Claude Fichthorn have each written an "Organ Sonata." Samuel Bollinger has composed a "Fantasie Romantique," and numerous organ pieces have been put forth by such musicians as Alfred Robyn, Carl Busch, Carl Wilhelm Kern, Daniel Jones, T. Stanley Skinner, Powell Weaver, Robert W. Major, Chester Nordman, and Edgar S. Place, who also wrote descriptive music for organ to "Everyman." Eleanor Davis has written a "Chant de Noel," Mrs. Rosalie Cale, two Fantasies on "Abide With Me" and "Saw Ye My Saviour," Frances Marion Ralston, a "Scotch Idyl" and "Winter," and Mrs. Berenice Crumb Wyer has in manuscript a "Postlude in D major," a "Lento Assai," and a "Meditation." Useful works for the organist are Mrs. Anna H. Hamilton's book on "The Art of Hymn Tune Playing," and Ernst I. Erbe's "Evangelisches Choralbuch,"

being four part harmony to the unison melodies in the Hymn Books of the Evangelical Church.

Among the Missouri members of the American Guild of Organists are many who have proven their mastery of the technique of composition by the production of organ works of musical value. Ernest R. Kroeger, one of the Founders of the A. G. O., has been particularly active as a composer of organ music. An "Introduction and Fugue" in C minor, a second one in D flat, and a third, in E minor, a "Festal March," a "Marche Pittoresque," several "Oriental Scenes," and numerous shorter pieces comprise Kroeger's published output. Claude Fichthorn, an Associate of the A. G. O., has written a "Suite Moderne," and many other pieces in addition to the "Sonata in C sharp minor" mentioned before. James T. Quarles, also an A. A. G. O., has many compositions in manuscript and so has Oliver Kleinschmidt, another A. A. G. O., of whose pieces but three have been published, "Eventide," "Hymne de St. Cecelia," and "Evening Reverie." Among the published compositions of William John Hall, A. A. G. O., may be mentioned "Victory," "The Caravan," "Berceuse," "Nocturne," "Pastorale," "Ecstasy," "Song Without Words," and "Oriental March." Arthur Job Davis has composed many excellent organ pieces. His published numbers are "Grand Choeur de Fete," "Berceuse," "Intermezzo—Les Sylphes," and "Trailing Arbutus." Edward M. Read has been particularly successful as a writer of organ pieces notable for their melodic charm. Four Offertoires, four Preludes, three Marches, a "Prayer," "Berceuse," "Supplication," "Devotion," "Quietude," "Meditation," "Allegretto," "Larghetto," and a "Postlude," comprise Read's published works. Other Missouri members of the A. G. O. who have done some composition for Organ are Mrs. Jacque Landree, William M. Jenkins, and Ernest Prang Stamm.

SEC. XVI—CONTEMPORARY SONG WRITERS.

Rupert Hughes as song writer may surprise many who have thought of this versatile Missourian only as a contriver of "movie" scenarios and successful novels. Not only is Hughes

a composer of songs, he is a compounder of bizarre dissonances of the most disapproved sort. In fact his compositions reek of modernity to such an extent that one authority has seen fit to list him as one of the "Twelve Modernists," Stravinsky, Ravel, D'Indy, Debussy, and Richard Strauss being included in the list. Audaciously extreme are his "Five Homely Songs"—"The Son," "Gone," "The Roustabout," "The Fog Horn," and "Amy Wentworth." Equally startling are the "Profane Lyrics" and the "Songs of the Aftermath," to say nothing of the "Free Verse Songs." A masterpiece of dramatic inspiration is "Cain," a Scena for Baritone and Piano. An "Album of Riley Songs," "Three Songs of Love," "Four Meditations," "A Triad of Songs," "Homesick Tunes," and "The Memory of Having Sung," are other notable products of Hughes' muse.

Rupert Hughes, who hails from Lancaster, is not the only Missouri composer whom Fate has led far from his native heath. Maurice Arnold, Theodore Spiering, George Clifford Vieh, Richard Barnes Platt, and Albert Frederic Stoessel, all from St. Louis, have wandered East in pursuit of that will-o'-the-wisp sometimes called Fame.

Maurice Arnold's compositions for voice include "A Fairy Tale," "Barcarolle," and "I Think Of Thee In Silent Night." Groups of "Three Songs" and "Five Songs" comprise Theodore Spiering's best work in this field. Early songs by George Vieh are "Sea Lyric," "Love Is A Star," and "By An Inland Lake." More recent is his dramatic "I Have A Rendezvous With Death." Charming Platt songs are "I Worship Thee" and "My Dear Ones All Are Sleeping." A group of songs by Albert Stoessel was awarded the Song Prize in the St. Louis Art League Competition of 1916. Typical of Stoessel's quite modern style are his songs "Moonlight," "Glimpses," and "Rose Prayer." St. Louis' most prolific song writer is now a resident of New York City. Alfred Robyn, successful comic opera composer, was also a very fertile writer of sentimental ballads. His greatest success was the tuneful ballad "Answer." Robyn's output includes a number of sacred songs and duets. For two voices are

"Let The Words Of My Mouth," "I Sought The Lord," "Call Of The Saviour," and "Hear My Cry, O Lord." St. Louisans now in the East, who have written some songs are Paul Tietjens, James T. Quarles, Alexander Henneman, Homer Moore, McNair Ilgenfritz, Herbert Spencer, Rudolph Gruen, August Halter, Fleta Jan Brown. Fleta Jan Brown wrote many charming lyrics, "Springtime" being typical of her best work. Herbert Spencer's songs were in a more "popular" vein. Of August Halter's numerous songs the "Sea Songs" represent his best achievement. Alexander Henneman also wrote many songs but he is best known by virtue of his valuable book of "One Hundred And One Exercises For All Voices." Rudolph Gruen's songs, still in manuscript, have been widely sung by the noted tenor Paul Althouse. St. Louisans who have gone West include Frances Marion Ralston and Mrs. Caroline Holme Walker. Miss Ralston has thirty songs in manuscript, while of Mrs. Walker's published songs "The Lonely Garden" and "When The Dew Is Falling" deserve particular mention. Among transplanted Missouri song writers we may particularly mention Mrs. Nellie S. Bradshaw, Mrs. Emaline G. Wendel, Guy Corken Allen, and Lloyd Morey.

As becomes the metropolis of the state, St. Louis is the proud possessor of an exceedingly active colony of song writers. Ernest R. Kroeger has published over one hundred songs, of particular interest being "Bend Low, O Dusky Night," "Life Of Life," "Drifting," "Stars In Radiant Glory," "Fight Of The Arrow," and "Memory," a cycle of nine songs. Equally active has been Arthur Lieber, whose successful numbers include "The Oblation," "When Gloaming Falls," "The Sweetest Flower," "Mother's Song," and the sacred songs, "Prayer", "The Lord Is My Strength," and "The Lord's Prayer." In modern vein are Bollinger's "Wilt Thou Weep," "Fancy," "Youth And Love," and "A Confession." Elmore Condon has written a great many songs, his biggest work being a dramatic setting of Leigh Hunt's "Abou Ben Adhem," scored for full orchestra. Ottmar Moll has published three very musical songs, "The Violet," "O Little Rose, O Dark

Rose," and "'Till Strikes The Hour." Of interest to singers are a "Song Of Arcady" and "Come On In, Miss Springtime" by Edward E. Menges. Among Carl Wilhelm Kern's successful songs may be mentioned "Heart's Yearning," "Girl Of My Heart," and "Of The Rose And You." Sara Teasdale's charming lyrics have inspired four songs by Hunter Jones, and three compositions by Arthur W. Proetz. Of sacred songs we might mention Louis Retter's "Jephthah," Charles Galloway's "O Mother Dear Jerusalem," Edward M. Read's "The Shepherd True," and Charles J. Kunkel's "He Giveth His Beloved Sleep." Numerous delightful German *Lieder* have been written by Ernst Krohn (Sr.), whose published compositions include "Little Sweetheart Baby," "When There's Love At Home," "Still As The Night," "Nearer My God To Thee," and the duet "Love Faileth Never." Several recital songs and a group of ten sacred solos comprise William John Hall's contribution. Musically interesting songs have been written by Louis Conrath, William T. Diebels, A. C. Eimer, A. I. Epstein, M. I. Epstein, Frederick Fischer, Max Gottschalk, Felix Heink, Vernor Henshie, John Kessler (Jr.), Charles Kunkel, Frederic Lillebridge, Albert Mengel, Ernest Prang Stamm, Walter Stockhoff, and Walter Wismar.

A most ambitious writer of songs of almost epigrammatic shortness is Mrs. Julie Stevens Bacon. Typical of her work are the group of "Songs Of The Heart," and "The Cup Of Life." Mrs. Lillian Craig Coffman's songs include several fine sacred solos, "Abide With Me," "One Sweetly Solemn Thought," "These Three," and a setting of "Nearer My God To Thee." Mrs. Berenice Crumb Wyer has in manuscript several splendid art songs, among them being "I Have A Rendezvous With Death," "Requiescat," "To Ships," "Remembrance," and "The Mocking Bird." Noteworthy are a setting from Verlaine "The Sky Above The Roofing Lies," and one from Baudelaire "Tropic Memories." Three songs from her "Paolo and Francesca" complete Mrs. Wyer's lyrical output. Mrs. Dorothy Gaynor Blake, Mrs. Rosalie Balmer Cale, Madame Christine Nordstrom Carter, Mrs. Marguerite

Fischel, Mrs. Anna May Loewenstein Nussbaum, and Sarah Ferriss Read have all written musically interesting songs. Eugenie Dussuchal has composed some "School Songs," and "Vocal Methods" have been compiled by Adelaide Kalkman, and by Madame Nordstrom Carter.

An unique figure in Missouri music is Gerald Tyler, the Henry T. Burleigh of the West. An unconventional writer of vigorous melodies, he has attracted particular attention by his dramatic setting of Paul Laurence Dunbar's "Ships That Pass In The Night." A powerful "Dirge For A Soldier," and many delightful songs form part of his creative work. Mention must be made of his "Heart O' Fancy," "Goodnight," "A Syrian Lullaby," "Afterglow," "Dawn," "Last Night And This," "Daisies," and "Time Of Roses."

The noble Red Man as portrayed by Longfellow has inspired a whole series of songs by Carl Busch, Kansas City's able composer. Taken from the "Song Of Hiawatha" are the songs "Gitche Manitou, The Mighty," "The Greeting Of Hiawatha," "When The Noiseless Night Descended," "Chibiabos," "Death Of Chibiabos," "Onaway, Awake Beloved," "Give Me Of Your Bark, O Birch Tree," "Pau-Puk-Keewis' Beggar's Dance," "Take Your Bow O Hiawatha," "Hiawatha's Friends," and "Farewell Minnehaha." Busch's mastery as a song writer is evidenced by his numerous other song settings.

Not the least active in the Kansas City colony are Geneve Lichtenwalter and Mrs. Bessie Whiteley. Miss Lichtenwalter's songs have been sung at several conventions of the Missouri Music Teachers' Association. Of particular interest are "Break, Break, Break," "Villanelle," "Invictus," and "Rossignol's Farewell." Mrs. Whiteley's dialect song "The Shadders" won the Custer Prize awarded by the National Federation of Music Clubs in 1921. In addition to many manuscript songs, Mrs. Whiteley has composed an Aria for Tenor with orchestral accompaniment "Muramadzu." Mrs. Mary Houts Flagg has published "Joy In Spring" and has about twenty songs in manuscript. Mrs. Maddalena Heryer

Akers, Maude Baker, Mrs. Florence T. Doling, and Mary M. Schmitz are all active as song writers.

Dr. Hans Harthan is a recent addition to Kansas City's music fraternity. Dr. Harthan is a very fertile song writer, his published compositions numbering approximately two hundred, with many still in manuscript. Equally prolific is Lucien Denni, who has written over three hundred songs. Particularly successful are the songs "In The Garden," "Starlight Love," "For You," "Love Blossom," and "Garden Of Love." Richard Canterbury has composed a "World War Cycle" consisting of "Prayer During Battle," "Aftermath," and "In Flanders' Fields." Powell Weaver has many songs in manuscript, among them "A Lost Love," "She Dwelt Among Untrodden Ways," "Boat O' Dreams," and "The Tryst." Forty-eight songs in manuscript and two published "Song Albums" constitute George E. Simpson's lyrical output. Harry E. Cooper, F. H. Lunn, Joseph Henry Menn, John S. Thompson, and H. O. Wheeler have all written some songs. The same may be said of Alfred George Hubach and William Henry Leib, both of whom were formerly active in Kansas City's musical life.

Scattered over the state are many composers who have cultivated the gentle art of song writing. Work of particular excellence has been done by William Henry Pommer of the University of Missouri, T. Stanley Skinner of Drury College, Claude Fichthorn of Missouri Valley College, Robert W. Major and Mrs. Stella May Hill of St. Joseph, Mrs. Daisy Melvin Kuhnes of Mound City, Eleanor Davis of Hannibal, Walter F. McElroy of Carthage, Edward A. Schubert of St. Charles, and Victor Kreyer of Joplin. Very modern were "Five New Songs" by William H. Pommer, sung at the 1919 convention of the Missouri Music Teachers' Association. The songs were "A Clear Midnight," "Chloe," "Evening Song," "There Little Girl Don't Cry," and "Eldorado." Among many other songs particular mention must be made of "Apparitions," "I Am The Wind," "I Have A Rendezvous With Death," a group of "Eight Songs," and a "Romance In Three Parts" consisting of the songs "I Have Placed A Golden

Ring," "The Chestnuts Shine," and "Out From The Depths." Eleanor Davis' published songs include "The Last Parting," "Because I Love," and "Expectancy." A "Sea Song," "Mignonette," and "Who Told" comprise E. A. Schubert's output.

Closely akin to song writing is the composition of a musical accompaniment, usually for piano, to a poetic recitation. Splendid work in this field has been done by Mrs. Berenice C. Wyer. Her setting of Stephen Phillips' Tragedy "Paolo and Francesca" has been very successful. According to the composer, "'Paolo and Francesca' is a Cantillation for Reader with Piano accompaniment, with three songs for Baritone; based on three leading themes, the piano as soft background for the text, and with numerous soli in the form of Intermezzi." This work has been produced in Chicago and New York by David Bispham. Mrs. Wyer has also composed a musical accompaniment to Longfellow's "Courtship Of Miles Standish." Longfellow's "Legend Beautiful" has been provided with a piano accompaniment by Alexander Henneman, who has also composed musical settings for Browning's "Abt Vogler" and "The Rescue" by Shields. Ernest R. Kroeger has written musical accompaniments for "The Romance Of The Dawn" and "The Sea Maiden," and Edgar Sands Place has published "Descriptive Musical Accompaniments" to "The Benediction," "The Shadow Of A Song," and "The Story Of Some Bells."

MISSOURI STATE SONGS.[24]

Imperial Missouri, a state of rich rolling prairie and wild rugged upland, a state of romantic streams and broad bosomed rivers, a state of templed hills and vast open spaces where man's soul may soar to infinity. A state with a romantic past and a splendid future, a state to stir the imagination of the poet and to inspire the musician to a lofty lyricism. Missouri's charms have been extolled in verse and song these

[24] This section is based on lists compiled by the Library of Congress and original material collected by the author.

many years past. "Belle Missouri, My Missouri" by Henry Werner (Charles Balmer) was probably the earliest of a splendid series of state songs. Harry MaCarthy's celebrated song "Missouri" was a Southern War Song, a stirring appeal to Missouri to join the Confederacy. The list of composers of songs bearing the significant title "Missouri" is noteworthy. Harold and Helen Ballou, W. Bolt, J. Buckley, M. Dee, P. Fahle, J. J. Goullee, Emile Karst, P. Kendol, Rev. W. Keuenhof, L. P. Littlejohn, Edward E. Menges, R. C. Michel, Noel Poepping, H. Sherin, C. F. Stayner, B. J. Tiemann, A. L. Utt, E. Van Note, and Mrs. Bessie M. Whiteley, have all published "Missouri" songs. A "Hymn to Missouri" by Girard Blair, "Missouri, The Promised Land" by B. S. Brown, "O Peerless Missouri" by Henry Martyn Butler, "That's Missouri" by M. E. A. Chase, "Imperial Missouri" by S. Collins, "Missouri, The Crown Of The Gem" by C. H. Gabriel, "Great Missouri" by C. C. Marshall, "Grand Missouri" by Mrs. C. M. Parker, "Missouri, The Gem Of The Union" by L. R. Rebman, "Missouri, The Iron Mountain State" by G. Scott, "Imperial Missouri" by A. M. Smith, and "It's Missouri" by J. W. Wehmeyer, are all frankly panegyrical. The Latin motto of the state "Salus populi suprema lex esto" (Let the welfare of the people be the supreme law) has inspired songs by C. J. Smith ("Missouri") and by J. D. Tussey ("The Song Of Missouri"). A. B. Korn has written a "Missouri State Carol" and I. N. Farris, a "Missouri State Fair Song." Touched with an almost filial affection are "Missouri, My Own" by J. M. Bronson, "It's Heaven In Old Missouri" by C. E. Koch, "Missouri, Dear Missouri, by C. Koeder, "My Missouri" by Arthur Leiber, "Missouri, Fair Land" by W. H. Lowry, "Missouri, We Greet Thee" by A. McCandless, "God Bless Thee, Old Missouri Mine" by Fr. J. Menne, "Let Us Sing Of Old Missouri" by J. Mohr, "Missouri, Mine" by F. B. Paillou, "All Love And Praise For Missouri" by C. D. Peck, "Old Missouri" by H. M. Ruble, and "Just A Glimpse Of Old Missouri" by J. C. Rumsey. Inspired by the rugged Ozark region are "The Old Ozark Hills" by A. Bristow and "The Old Missouri

Hills" by Alfred Robyn. Rocco Venuto has sung the praises of "A Missouri Lad" while J. B. Thomas' lyric fancy has been stirred by "The Golden Rod." A most cherished Missouri product has been celebrated by K. Keller in his "Missouri Hen Song." The famous Missouri mule must needs still sing his praises in his own peculiar way, although C. Blake was moved to write a "Missouri Mule March" for piano. The popular expression "Show me, I'm from Missouri" has found its vent in song. A "Missouri 'Show Me' Song" was written by M. B. Quinn, while A. D. McCampbell's contribution is entitled "Show Me, I'm From Old Mizzoo." H. G. Munroe has sung of "Missouri On The Mississippi Shore," and Mary A. King, of the "Missouri Flood," while H. van Waringa has celebrated the Forty-ninth Missouri Assembly in "Legislature Days." An unsuspected Missouri attribute is extolled in P. J. Cooper's song "The Waltz Of Missouri." If we add to this list the thousand or more songs submitted in recent State Song Contests, we can appreciate the prodigious activity to which our noble state has stimulated the musical fraternity.

In 1911, Governor Hadley announced a contest for a Missouri State Song. More than one thousand manuscripts were submitted, all of which were rejected. The poetry alone of Mrs. Lizzie Chambers Hull won the approval of the judges and she was awarded a Prize of Five Hundred Dollars. In 1913, the Missouri Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution instituted a contest for a musical setting of Mrs. Hull's poem. Several hundred compositions were submitted, the setting of Mrs. Julie Stevens Bacon winning the prize. Mrs. Bacon's song has since been published and widely circulated. Using a well known melody of Franz Joseph Haydn[25] for her first phrase, Mrs. Bacon has evolved a tune which should become popular. At that it seems improbable that any one song will ever become "the" state song. The charms of fair Missouri are so manifold that it will ever require a whole series of state songs to do her full justice.

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[25] This tune appears in Protestant Hymnals under the title "Manoah." In passing, may the criticism be ventured that Mrs. Hull's poem is not ideally adapted for musical setting?

SEC. XVII—CONTEMPORARY CHORAL COMPOSERS.

The literature of Choral Music has been materially enriched by the labors of Carl Busch. A series of heroic Cantatas and innumerable shorter choral works all bear witness to his mastery of the technique of choral composition. His Cantatas for Mixed Chorus and Orchestra include "The League Of The Alps," "King Olaf," "Paul Revere's Ride," "The American Flag," "The Fourth of July," "America," "Ode To France," "Quivera," "The Four Winds," "Sir Galahad," and "The Lady Of Shalott." "Denmark's Day" and "The Brown Heather" are for Male Chorus and Orchestra, "Pan's Flute" is for Female Chorus and Orchestra, "A Song Of Spring" is for Girls' Chorus and Orchestra, and "May" is for Children's Chorus and Orchestra. Of Busch's published compositions for mixed voices we may particularly note "When The Heart Is Young," "O Moonlight Deep And Tender," "Crossing The Bar," "The Day Is Done," and "Indian Lullaby." For women's voices are "The Fairy Thrall," "The Voice Of Spring," "Light," "A May Song," "When," and "A Dream Of Summer." For male voices, some *a capella*, are "The Song Of A Star," "The Memorial Ode To Breckenridge," "Alexander's Feast," "King Olaf's War Horns," "Freedom And Love," "Lost Hope," "Come To Me," "Aye," "The Rock Beside The Sea," "The Owl," "Drinking Song," and "Sing To Me Gondolier." Many of Busch's compositions have won prizes in musical competitions throughout this country. The palm of preeminence has been accorded "America" (New Jersey Tri-City Festival,) "Quivera" (Topeka Festival), "The Four Winds" (Philadelphia), "Sir Galahad," "The Brown Heather," "Pan's Flute," "May" (Evanston Festival), "When The Heart Is Young" and "The Day Is Done" (Chicago Madrigal Club), "The Song Of A Star" (Brooklyn Arion), "Ode To Breckenridge" (Lexington, Ky.), "Alexander's Feast" (Pittsburg).

Selecting his text from the Elizabethan poets, William H. Pommer has written a most charming cycle for mixed voices, "Cupid In Arcady." On a larger scale is his "Ode To

The Passions" for Chorus and Orchestra. Many male choruses and some part-songs for female voices conclude Pommer's choral work. Ottmar Moll has set for female voices the choruses in "Achilles In Scyros," a poetic drama by Robert Bridges, England's poet laureate. Maurice Hewlett's poem "The Masque Of The Dead Florentines" has been provided with a musical accompaniment and unison choruses by Ernest R. Kroeger. Smaller choral works by Kroeger include six Quartets for female voices and several mixed and male choruses. Walt Whitman's "Beat! Beat! Drums" has been set for Mixed Chorus, Trumpets, and Drum by Albert F. Stoessel.

Longfellow's "Masque Of Pandora" provided Mrs. Rosalie Balmer Cale with the text for a most successful composition for women's voices. First performed in 1907, this composition received a splendid presentation by the St. Louis Morning Choral Society, March 10, 1922. Frances Marion Ralston recently published a fine setting for Female Chorus of Robert Browning's "Rabbi Ben Ezra." Mrs. Bessie M. Whiteley's choral compositions include "The Landing Of The Pilgrims" and "The Garden Of Buddha" for female voices, a male quartet "The Four Winds," and three Madrigals for mixed voices *a capella*, "The Nights O' Spring," "O Lady Leave Thy Silken Thread," and "A Spring Ditty." Mrs. Dorothy Gaynor Blake has written many choruses and part-songs for women's voices, among them being "Hurry Little Wave," "Mother Song," "Spirit of Spring," and "Spirit Of Winter."

A variety of choral compositions in all forms have been composed by Hans Harthan. Writing primarily for male voices, Harthan has also created many fine works for female voices and for mixed chorus. Similarly Ernst Krohn (Sr.), has specialized in *Maennerchor* composition but neither has he neglected the other choral combinations. His larger works include "May Greeting" and "Forest Greeting" for Mixed Chorus, and "Forest Dream" for Female Chorus. "A Song Of Love" for Male Chorus, "Winter And Summer" for Female Chorus, and "The Voyagers" for Mixed Chorus com-

prise Ernest Prang Stamm's secular compositions. A "Columbia" Cantata has been composed by August C. Eimer, while Maurice Arnold's works include a Cantata "The Wild Chase" and several Part-Songs. The choral music inspired by local pageantry, of Frederick Fischer, Noel Poepping, and Gerald Tyler has been noted in the section on "Orchestral Composers" (XII). Tyler's most recent work has been the composition of the Final Chorus of a Pageant produced at Richmond, Virginia. Among composers who have done some choral work we may mention Heinrich H. Bellamann, Ernst I. Erbe, Hans C. Feil, Carl Wilhelm Kern, Edwin Vaile McIntyre, James T. Quarles, Alfred G. Robyn, T. Stanley Skinner, Edwin W. Sturt, and Glenn Woods.

The versatility of Alfred G. Robyn is nowhere better demonstrated than in his sacred choral music, notably his three Cantatas "The Ascension," "Love Unending," and "Praise And Thanksgiving." Sacred Cantatas have been written by William John Hall, "Easter Morn" and "Bethlehem;" Ernst Krohn (Sr.), "The Doubter, or God Is Love;" Gerald Tyler, "Tubal Cain;" and by Ernst I. Erbe. Mrs. Mary Houts Flagg has published a Cantata for children entitled "The Child Jesus." "The Heart Of A Child," a Cantata for girls' voices by Ernst Krohn (Sr.), has been produced many times in St. Louis.

For the Episcopal service are Mrs. Lillian Craig Coffman's "Jubilate Deo," Horace P. Dibble's "Te Deum," Charles Galloway's "Jubilate in G," William John Hall's "Magnificat," "Nunc Dimittis," and "Festival Communion Service," Alfred Robyn's "Magnificat," "Nunc Dimittis," "Benedictus," "Venite," and "Festival Te Deum," Ernest Prang Stamm's "Te Deum in E flat" and "Communion Service in G," and Gerald Tyler's "Magnificat." Anthems have been written by many composers, among them James J. Bell, Mrs. Nellie S. Bradshaw, Carl Busch, Mrs. Rosalie B. Cale, Arthur J. Davis, Ernst I. Erbe, Hans C. Feil, August Halter, Alfred Hubach, Carl Wilhelm Kern, Philip W. Kost, Ernest R. Kroeger, Ernst Krohn (Sr.), Edwin Vaile McIntyre, Lloyd Morey, Edgar Sands Place, James T. Quarles, Frances Marion

Ralston, Alfred Robyn, Edwin W. Sturt, Gerald Tyler, and Mrs. Caroline H. Walker. Mrs. Bessie Whiteley has composed two Choral Fugues on a Biblical text, one being for three voices and the other four voiced. Various "Responses" and "Chants" have been written by Mrs. Berenice Wyer, and numerous "Hymns" have been composed by Mrs. Nellie S. Bradshaw, James J. Bell, and Edwin W. Sturt. A Hymn Book in German for the New Thought service "Truth In Word And Song" has been compiled by Ernst Krohn (Sr.).

Music for the Catholic service has been written by Alfred Robyn, Aloysius Rhode, and August C. Eimer. Robyn's contribution has been a "Festival Mass of the Sacred Heart" as well as several shorter numbers. Aloysius Rhode, a profound student of Gregorian music, has written a "Mass in Honor of St. Joseph," a "Mass in Honor of the Blessed Virgin," a "Mass in Honor of the Good Shepherd," and a "Tantum Ergo." Rhode has also collected and transcribed "Forty-seven Gregorian Hymns," and has issued a collection of Hymns "Corona Virginium" for Female or Boys Choirs. August C. Eimer has been a most prolific writer of ecclesiastical music. His crowning achievement is a series of twenty-five grandiose Cantatas and Masses. Mention must be made of "Resurrection," "Gates Ajar," "Cradle and Cross," "King David," "Gabriel," "Death and Victory," "Missa Solemnis," "Missa Pro Defunctis," "Symphonic Mass," "Festival Mass," and a "Monogram Requiem." Eimer has also composed many choruses, among them "Ave Virgo," "Veni Jesu," "Sancta Trinitas," and a "Grand Hallelujah."

Compositions for the Jewish service are limited to a series of "Responses for Synagogue Service" by Abraham I. Epstein, and an "Evening Service for Jewish Worship" by Ernest Prang Stamm.

SEC. XVIII—CONTEMPORARY COMPOSERS OF OPERA.

Edward MacDowell[26] once drew a parallel between listening to a Wagnerian Opera and watching a three-ring circus. The ring containing the orchestral music required one's

[26] Edward MacDowell, *Critical and Historical Essays*, Boston, 1912, page 258.

closest attention, but it was humanly impossible not to be detracted by the ring containing the scenery, to say nothing of the ring containing the declaiming actors. Opera at its best is a hybrid proposition. Dominated at all times by the capricious personality of the Opera Singer and subject to Fashion's wilful sway, Opera places Music at the mercy of the spoken Drama. Be that as it may, contriving an Opera will always possess a fascination for some composers. In fact it is only the prohibitive cost of production which deters the rising opera composer from greater activity.

A most ambitious attempt to mount a new Opera despite the high cost was made at St. Louis, February 16, 1917. On that day Homer Moore's Grand Opera "Louis XIV" was presented at the Odeon, with the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, a Chorus of sixty singers, a Ballet of forty dancers and a cast including Evelina Parnell, Marguerita Beriza, Augusta Lenska, Henri Scott, and Florencio Constantino. It was a brave effort, but the indisposition of one of the singers prevented a proper appreciation of Moore's quite delightful music. Moore has written other Operas among them "Joan Edvign," "The Elfwife," and "The New World." The latter forms part of a projected Trilogy, the unfinished sections of which will treat of "The Pilgrims" and "The Puritans."

Of Rocco Venuto's Grand Opera "The Three Enemies," two orchestral episodes only, have been accorded a public hearing. The "Scene Dramatique" was performed by the Kansas City Symphony Orchestra, April 11, 1896, and by the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, April 2, 1902. The "Intermezzo" was performed by the Kansas City Philharmonic Orchestra, January 26, 1896, and by the St. Louis World's Fair Orchestra under Komzak, July 27, 1904. Venuto has in preparation a one-act Opera "The Disciple."

Written in Full Score[27] are Mrs. Bessie M. Whiteley's two Grand Operas, "Pandora," the text being Longfellow's

[27] A distinction should be made between composers who write an Opera in Full Score, that is completely orchestrated, and those whose activity ends with the preparation of a Vocal Score with piano accompaniment. Unfortunately, the information available does not permit of a rigid classification of Missouri operas along these lines.

"Masque of Pandora," and "Sarita," a Mexican subject with original libretto. Still awaiting the vitalizing touch of actual performance are the Operas "Cleopatra" by Maurice Arnold, "Merlin" by Alfred Robyn, "Naldino" and "Marion's Men" by William H. Pommer, and "Mirabeau" by Felix Heink. Edward Menges has in preparation a one-act Opera entitled "The Suicides," and an Opera with a Spanish libretto "La Senora de los Rosas" has been written by Harry E. Cooper. Max Gottschalk is credited with the composition of an Opera, while two three-act Operas have been written by Elmore Condon. "The Village Master" has not been performed, but "Once upon a Time" was successfully produced at St. Louis, May 19 and 20, 1922. It is now being rescored for full orchestra.

Comic Opera, or more strictly speaking, Musical Comedy, has had no more talented devotee than Alfred George Robyn. Fresh in the memory of the present generation are his highly successful productions "The Yankee Tourist" and "The Yankee Consul." Equally popular were "The Gipsy Girl," "Fortune Land," and "All for the Ladies." Robyn's first Comic Opera "Manette" was produced in St. Louis at the Pickwick Theatre during August, 1883. Another early venture was "Jacinta, The Maid of Manzanillo," a Mexican Comic Opera, first produced at the Grand Opera House, May 22, 1893. More recent products of Robyn's facile pen are "The Girl from 'Frisco", "The Boys from Home," "Padishah," "Will o' the Wisp," and "The Duchess D'Aze."

An unusually gifted writer of Musical Comedies is Lucien Denni. His first success was "Margy, The College Girl," produced in 1907. "Don't Tell My Wife" went on the road the next year. Kansas City witnessed the first productions of most of his subsequent shows. "The Skylarks" was first put on in 1912, "The Spartans" in 1913, "M'lle Juliette" in 1914, "Petticoat Lane" and "The Girl from 'Frisco" in 1915, "The Chase," "Fame," and "The Carnival" in 1916 and "Marzie Came Back" in 1917. The "De Molay Revels of 1922" was produced in Kansas City with a cast of one thousand. This show was also staged in St. Louis and Los Angeles.

Denni's latest scores are "We Wonder Why" produced at Kansas City in the Spring of 1922, and "Hello Dearie" which was given a convincing performance by the Minute Circle of Kansas City on November 8 and 9, 1922.

Paul Tietjens made a name for himself by writing the musical score to the enormously successful Musical Extravaganza "The Wizard of Oz." First produced at the Grand Opera House, Chicago, during June, 1902, this unique spectacle was an immediate success. Tietjens is not a prolific writer but a versatile one. Proof of which is the Incidental Music which he composed for Sir J. M. Barrie's delightful play "A Kiss for Cinderella."

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition inspired many a masterpiece of brush and chisel and was in itself a stupendous masterpiece of the architect's craft. Not the least of the artistic by-products of this wonderful "World's Fair" was the historical spectacle "Louisiana," a forerunner of the "Pageant" of 1914. The score of this extremely successful Musical Extravaganza was written by William John Hall. "Louisiana" is credited with five hundred performances in 1904. Hall has also composed three Light Operas, "The Apple Blossoms," "Tactics," and "Creole Belle."

Three Comic Operas have been published by Arthur Lieber. They are "Miss Cupid of Chicago," "Arlington Lightfood, P. D.," and "The Dancing Master." Carl Wilhelm Kern's Comic Opera "The Duke of Texas" was written but to be dismembered, the musical material being utilized in other works. William H. Pommer's Romantic Comic Opera in three acts "The Queen of the Bucanneers" in all probability still reposes peacefully in its creator's desk. Maurice Arnold has composed two Comic Operas, one of which "The Merry Benedicts" made its debut in Brooklyn in 1896. Not so fortunate has been Edward E. Menges, whose Comic Opera "Jacinta" still awaits an audition.

"Hiawatha's Childhood" forms the theme of an Operetta by Mrs. Bessie M. Whiteley which was awarded a Prize by the National Federation of Musical Clubs in 1913. Still in manuscript is Mrs. Mary Houts Flagg's Operetta "The

Land of Manana." Mrs. Rosalie Balmer Cale's fascinating Operetta "Love, Powder, and Patches" was first produced at St. Louis, in 1897. Equally popular is Mrs. Cale's "Four Pecks or a Bushel of Fun," first produced at St. Louis in 1907. This Operetta has been produced in New York under the title "Cupid's Haloween."

Alfred Robyn has written a number of Operettas—"A Slim Legacy," "Soldier in Petticoats," "Court Martial," and, most successful of all, "Beans and Buttons" first produced at St. Louis in 1888. "Narrowly Averted" is the title of Carl Valentine Lachmund's venture in this field, while the popularity of Joseph Henry Menn's "Golden Poppy Girl" is evidenced by numerous performances. Willliam H. Pommer's first Operetta "The Mummy" dates from 1877. "The Legend of St. Etheldethelwethelberga," "The Fountain of Youth," "The Student's Ruse," and "The Daughter of Socrates" are all in a similar vein. A very gifted writer of college Musical Shows is Arthur Walter Proetz. Dr. Proetz's published scores include "Pierrette," "Quadrangle Town," "The Sun of O-gun," "Nipped in the Bud," and "The Snoopers' Revue." "Nipped in the Bud" was written in collaboration with Max Zach and Noel Poepping.

(To be continued.)

THE NEW JOURNALISM IN MISSOURI

BY WALTER B. STEVENS.

FIRST ARTICLE.

In the decade 1870-1880 the new journalism in Missouri had its beginning. St. Louis had eight morning newspapers, four English, four German. Competition was fierce. Three men owned the *Missouri Democrat*—William McKee, George W. Fishback, Daniel M. Houser—in one-half, one-third and one-sixth shares. The partners disagreed in 1872. Mr. Fishback went into court and obtained an order of sale of the *Missouri Democrat*, plant and prestige, at auction, the bidding to be limited to the three partners. Fishback outbid the others at $456,000. McKee and Houser started the *Globe*. In three years Fishback sold the *Democrat* to the *Globe* for $131,000 less than he had paid for it at the partition sale. The two papers were consolidated in the *Globe-Democrat*.

The new journalism in Missouri has had fifty years of evolution. There are high places in it,—as Joseph Pulitzer's *Post-Dispatch*, William R. Nelson's *Kansas City Star*, The School of Journalism of the University of Missouri. Well distributed through the half century are events and policies which have significant places in this evolution.

Enterprise, unprecedented, in the news gathering was one of the earliest manifestations of the new journalism in Missouri. It was inaugurated by Daniel M. Houser as business manager of the new *St. Louis Globe*, in the first year of that newspaper's existence. Without the associated press franchise, without a subscription list, without anything material but the press and type, the *Globe*, in 1873, entered upon a newspaper duel with the long established *Democrat*. Mr. Houser spent money for news with a lavishness St. Louis newspapers had never known before. Joseph B. McCullagh, whose first venture in newspaper management had gone up in the Chicago fire of 1871, left the *Democrat* and went to the

Globe as editor late in 1873, after Mr. Houser's policy had begun to show results. Liberal expenditures for news continued to be the policy after the union of the two papers. Before the end of the decade the *Globe-Democrat* led all newspapers in the country outside of New York City in the cost of its news service. In New York it had only one competitor, the *Herald.*

THE FINANCIAL TEST.

In the dollar sense the new journalism in Missouri was immediately successful. By the end of its third year the *Globe-Democrat* had paid off the debts piled up by the sharp competition between the *Globe* and the *Democrat.* It had a bank balance of $90,000 with which to continue the policy of paying liberally for news. Years after, when the *Globe-Democrat* had arrived, Mr. McCullagh said to Walter Williams:

"Spending money is the only way to make a newspaper. I never hesitate to lay down one dollar when I see I can thereby pick up two."

Mr. Williams, some years before the School of Journalism had taken form, commenting upon the effect of this prodigal expenditure in gathering news, said:

> He understood how this kind of journalism impressed the public, and hence at times he enjoyed some prodigious feat, as telegraphing or cabling pages of some great event at enormous expense, scooping all his rivals and editorially vaunting the magnitude of the achievement and making the world believe there was no other such paper as the *Globe-Democrat.* He would do these feats at such intervals as to keep the public in a constant state of admiration and amazement, and thus the *Globe-Democrat* grew like Jack's beanstalk. He possessed the rare journalistic instinct of knowing what the public wanted, and he spared no expense to give it to them. Whenever any important event occurred the public could rely upon it being fully and well told.

Paying liberally for news, in the new journalism in Missouri, had this insistent qualification—no faking. The local correspondents, numbering many hundreds and covering many states, were chosen without regard to their own political

opinions and were early trained in accuracy by such editorial warnings as this:

> Injustice was undoubtedly done by the *Globe-Democrat* to Secretary of State Lesueur in the report of the Lafayette county convention on Monday last, which represented resolutions of indorsement of that gentleman as having been adopted in the face of wild opposition. We mention the fact for the purpose of calling the attention of our correspondents in every part of the country to the *Globe-Democrat's* desire to deal fairly with friend and foe alike in matters of current political history. There is nothing to be gained by underestimating the strength or popularity of an opponent, or belittling the meetings of the opposition party. In the olden time all meetings not in accord with the sentiments of the newspaper in which they were reported were described as "failures" "fizzles," etc.; while the smallest gathering reflecting the paper's sentiments was put down as an "immense outpouring." The *Globe-Democrat* has never carried out this idea. and will not do so in the approaching campaign. The truth—no matter which side it may help or hurt—is what we want for the news-columns of this journal.

Before the advent of the new journalism in Missouri newspapers did not publish circulation figures. The press room was the lodge. Press men were bound to strict secrecy on the runs. It was the common understanding that the *Republican's* circulation far exceeded that of any other paper in the Mississippi Valley until the *Chicago Times*, under Wilbur F. Storey, made its spurt. Every boat that left the St. Louis Levee carried bundles of St. Louis papers in the clerk's office. These papers were purchased in quantities and were carried for distribution to favored shippers and for sale to the public. Up the Missouri to Fort Benton; up the Mississippi to St. Paul; up the Illinois to Peru; down the Mississippi and up the Cumberland, the Tennessee, the Red, the Arkansas and the White rivers, to a thousand landings, the St. Louis papers went. If they arrived two or even three days after publication they were welcomed in those days of few railroads and fewer telegraph lines. And the bundles of the other papers were insignificant compared with those of "Old 1808," especially on the southern routes.

The new journalism had no secrets from the public. Before it was a yearling the *Globe-Democrat* announced that it was "the only newspaper in the city and in the country willing to keep its press room open to the world while its edition is being worked off."

Thereafter editorial invitations were frequent in forms like this:

"The Thursday morning matinees of the *Globe-Democrat* press room continue to attract large and fashionable audiences. Last Thursday between the hours of 10 and 12 we had between 300 and 400 visitors, and today we hope the number will be still larger."

In August, 1878, the *Globe-Democrat* issued the first of its challenges on circulation.

"We have stated our belief that the city circulation of the *Globe-Democrat*—11,457 copies—is greater than the entire circulation of the *Republican* although it is less than half the entire circulation of the *Globe-Democrat*. The *Republican* ought to disprove this assertion if it can. We are willing to pay $500 for authentic disproof of it—the facts to be ascertained and reported by a committee properly chosen, and the loser to pay $500 which is to be divided between the Catholic and Protestant orphan asylums of the city."

The challenge was ignored. The *Globe-Democrat* thereupon began the sworn statement of its circulation, a practice which became a notable feature of the new journalism in Missouri, adopted early by Mr. Pulitzer in St. Louis and by Mr. Nelson in Kansas City. Other cities took up the practice and many years later the Government by statute required what the new journalism in Missouri had inaugurated as the policy of just regard for the interests of the public. The *Globe-Democrat's* first sworn statement gave "11,457 city circulation and over 24,000 general circulation." At that time the subscription price by the year was $11 for six week-day papers and $12 for the daily including Sunday. The price for single copies was five cents locally, while at remote places in the Southwest train butchers put on as much more as the demand would bear. With the steadily increasing

circulation of the *Globe-Democrat* kept before the public, Mr. McCullagh entered upon systematic and pungent prodding of the *Republican* for a showdown.

There were no secrets of success in the new journalism in Missouri. The world was invited to consider the policies which were making the *Globe-Democrat* a great newspaper. On the editorial page the new journalism was taught by precept and in the news columns by practice:

> A Cincinnati paper of Thursday last devoted two of its broad pages to the New Orleans prize fight of the day before and two more to a religious revival in progress in that city, thinking it thereby conserved and gratified all classes of readers. But it did nothing of the kind. All classes of readers are not embraced in two classes—those who love prize fights and those who want the details of revival meetings. Between these two extremes there are a dozen different classes who care nothing for prize fights and are indifferent to revivals, and the newspaper that neglects the tastes and wishes of the people comprising these classes is false to its mission of current history. The *Globe-Democrat* reports prize fights and reports them quite fully, but it does not fill its pages with them to the exclusion of other matters which interest the public quite as much, if not more. The best newspapers of the present day are the many-sided newspapers in which current history is collected, condensed and presented so as to exclude nothing of real interest, and not allow any special class interest to monopolize its contents. A good newspaper is like the bill of fare at a metropolitan hotel—nobody is expected to call for or consume everything it contains, and yet it should contain something suitable to every taste. It is because the *Globe-Democrat* is conducted on this idea that it flourishes like a green bay tree, and that every year of its history finds it more prosperous than the year before.

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

The *Times* absorbed the *Journal* and then there were only three morning newspapers in St. Louis,—that is, published in English. But such was the opportunity as it appeared through optimistic lenses, that two or three more papers were forecasted. Newspaper men flocked to St. Louis in those days of 1870-1880. Referring to one of these projects which "died a' bornin' " the *Globe-Democrat* said:

"Man's a vapor full of woes;
Starts a paper, up he goes!"

The *Times-Journal* ran hyphenated through a period made entertaining by vicissitudes to which the *Globe-Democrat* called "*The Times-Journal's* Semi-annual sales." Just as the decade was closing the *Times* went under foreclosure sale and was bid in by the *Republican* and stopped.

Shortly before the suspension the *Globe-Democrat*, announcing one of the several changes of management, contrasted success and failure in St. Louis journalism:

> Mr. A. S. Mitchell, it is announced, takes editorial charge of the *Times-Journal* at once, and we hope he will succeed in doing for it what so many have tried to do and failed—make it a prosperous, self-asserting newspaper, with views to express and news to tell. Mr. Mitchell returns to St. Louis journalism after an absence of many years. He will find that many changes have occurred in the conduct and contents of the daily newspaper since he laid down the editorial pen on Third street. There was then no such thing in existence as a religious daily. The dailies concerned themselves solely about secular affairs, and left religion to the pastors and the weeklies. The growth and success of the *Globe-Democrat* changed all that, and people now look to us instead of to their pastors for religious instruction, especially during the summer months when some of the pastors are absent and many of the churches are either closed or running on half-time. Mr. Mitchell remembers the *Republican*. He will find it unchanged in its principal feature, which is, always has been, dullness. In the *Post-Dispatch* he will find a structure towering on the ruins of his own old castle. The *Post-Dispatch* is Pulitzer in exclamation points; its characteristic, therefore, is modesty. Mr. Mitchell will erect his own standard and code in journalism, we hope, but if he would select a guide, philosopher and friend from among his contemporaries, let him take the *Globe-Democrat* to his heart and conscience, and approximate as nearly as he can to its many virtues. It has no faults—at least it acknowledges none. Let him look over our teeming columns every day and see how we come "with news from all nations lumbering at our back." Let him study how carefully we avoid sensations; how tenderly we deal with the errings of all parties, how scrupulously we shun personal criminations and recriminations. He will find, we fear, that there is no hope for perfection except in imitation; but let him not be discouraged on this account. There is no reason why the two greatest papers in the country should not be printed on the banks of the Mississippi.

Joseph Pulitzer was a reporter on the *Westliche Post*, one of the four German morning newspapers, in that strenuous decade, 1870-1880. He went to Jefferson City to report the General Assembly, where his trenchant Faber No. 2,—no typewriters in newspaper offices then,—led to a shooting which lodged a bullet in Statesman Augstine's leg. He sat in the constitutional convention as a member from St. Louis. He bought one of four German morning newspapers, the *Missouri Staatszeitung* for a few thousand dollars, sold it for about $27,000 to the *Globe* which was prepared to pay well for the associated press franchise. He hesitated between the law and journalism, wrote for the *New York Sun* to demonstrate for his own satisfaction that he had the newspaper facility of expression in good English. And then, as this decade of kaleideoscopic evolution of St. Louis journalism was nearing the end, Mr. Pulitzer became the owner of the *Dispatch*, sold at the front door of the courthouse for $2,400 under a mortgage. In the field where twenty-seven St. Louis evening newspapers had been started with high hopes which were not realized, Mr. Pulitzer began the making of his marvelous newspaper career. Emboldened by the success of the *Post-Dispatch*, Mr. Pulitzer bought the *New York World* and took with him to that paper a score of young men who had had their newspaper training in St. Louis. When he began to print the mounting circulation figures of the *World*, he did not by comparison give the circulation of the *World* when he bought it, because, as he once said to the writer, "the circulation was so small I didn't want the public to know what it was."

THE NEW JOURNALISM STATE-WIDE.

Eugene Field came to one of the eight St. Louis morning papers, *The Journal*, in the early seventies. He was put upon the program for poet at the annual meeting of the Missouri Press Association held at Lexington either in 1873 or 1874. From that time Field became deeply interested in the work of organizing the press of the state. Because of that interest he was made secretary. The association, although formed a

few years before, was not a virile body. It included not a full representation of the Missouri press and its activities were limited to an annual meeting which was more or less of a junket at which politicians exploited themselves. Not long ago a son of Mr. Field showed the writer a mass of correspondence which his father had carried on with newspapers all over the state looking to more thorough organization and practical benefits for the craft. This was before the days of dictation and typewriting in newspaper offices. The correspondence was in Eugene Field's painstaking copperplate handwork.

Somewhat later the purpose of Field to stimulate the spirit and elevate the standards of the Missouri press were taken up by E. W. Stephens of Columbia and were carried on for years by Walter Williams. In the nineties was published at Columbia *The Missouri Editor*, a gem in typography and presswork. Perhaps there has never been in the history of Missouri journalism a handsomer output in the art preservative than was *The Missouri Editor*. But more important by far was the reading matter. Mr. Stephens was the publisher and Mr. Williams, the editor. Ruthlessly fraudulent advertisers were exposed. The column devoted to information about advertisers contained such paragraphs as these, omitting the names:

"Ask cash in advance from the Blank Chemical company."

"Do not insert the Blank Blank ads."

"The Blank Food company is bankrupt."

"The Blank Horse and Cattle Food company has an office in a barn."

"The Blank Detective and Protective Agency should be asked cash in advance—and then not advertised."

"We still have complaints about the Blank Advertising Agency. Editors who read *The Editor* were not taken in."

The surprising fact about this department of *The Missouri Editor* was the number of advertisers in sheep's clothing who were preying on the press in that generation. What *The Missouri Editor* saved the newspapers of Missouri by

these courageous warnings can not be estimated. Each issue of this unique periodical contained pages devoted to newspaper changes and personals of newspaper people in Missouri. But the editorial page was probably of the greatest benefit to the vocation in Missouri. Regularly the editorial appeal for betterment of the press was driven home. Take this which appeared just before New Years of 1897:

> The best resolution a newspaper man can make at the beginning of the year is that he will spring a series of surprises upon his readers, that he will think up something that no one else has thought of or that he will steal some idea of someone so far from his readers that they will think it his own, and thus give zest, interest and originality to his paper. McCullagh's success as a journalist lay in that he thought of things that occurred to no one else. The public like it. Change your old stereotyped heads. Call your personal column something else. Get up articles about people and things that never were written of before. Keep thinking night and day of something new and original. There are gold mines of news all about us if we will just look and do some thinking. Try it. There is money in it.

The Missouri Editor went far beyond the borders of the state. At a meeting of the Connecticut Editorial Association in 1894 the secretary of that body called attention to this "remarkably practical and compendious summary of current foreign advertising propositions and other subjects of everyday interest to publishers of weekly newspapers." Sounds like Yankee speech, doesn't it?

All through the issues of *The Missouri Editor* are scattered ideas of Walter Williams which read like foreshadowings of the first School of Journalism to come into being ten or twelve years later. "Employ Country Printers" was one of Editor Williams' appeals in 1894:

> The country printing office should employ country printers. The office in which *The Missouri Editor* is printed is located in a country town and employs over forty compositors. Its experience, after many years, is that country printers are more faithful, more intelligent, more efficient than city printers and much more economical. About every country town are bright boys and girls, who will be glad to work at low wages and who, in a few years or even months, will become profitable workmen, and who will stick to their work. Some of the best printers we know never were in a city. The country printing office is a better school

room than the country school house, and it is folly for the proprietor to pay fancy wages to the tramp printer from the city when he can be doing a good service for boys and girls all about him as well as for himself by hiring them at one-half prices. The training of the city printer is wholly different from that of the country printer; and when he comes to the country he usually has the big head, begins to sneer at country ways, and to become a disturbing and dissatisfying element in the office. He is usually thriftless. He is in the habit of spending his wages at the theater or on the excursion or in the saloon; while the country printer lays his wages by and in a few years has a little home and is independent. A country printing office ought to be a family affair. It should educate its own employes, and keep them, make them feel that they are permanent and identify them with itself, in feeling and interest. This should be true down to the boy who sweeps out the office. Never keep a man in your employ who is not in sympathy with you and your business.

This uplifting monthly publication carried on for years at Columbia contributed in no small degree to the enviable position the press of the state sustains today. The new journalism in Missouri, inaugurated fifty years ago, was not confined to the cities.

(To be Continued)

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

ELEVENTH ARTICLE.

GRAPE CULTURE IN MISSOURI.

"Hermann may justly be called the cradle of grape culture,* although the Catawba vineyards of Mr. James Longworth, near Cincinnati, had commenced to attract the attention of wine growers ten years earlier. The Catawba was grown in Ohio but not in Missouri.

"It is very obvious that the first German settlers in the Frain valley were early prompted to make attempts at inoculating and grafting the wild grape vines, which grow in abundance everywhere in the woods, even on the most sterile and rocky hillsides. Most of the first settlers had come from the southern part of Germany and from Switzerland. These hills, covered with wild grapes, may have reminded them of the vineyards in their old homes along the Rhine, the Neckar and the Main. Thus the first impulse was given. Experiments which were made with European vines proved to be complete failures. The vines would either remain entirely barren, or the grapes would degenerate to such a degree, that they did not even resemble the original kinds. Further experiments with some domestic and more improved varieties, for example the Cape and the Isabella grapes, succeeded a little better, but the small quantities of wine made of these did not meet the demands of wine experts. For this reason the cultivation of these varieties was soon abandoned again. The Virginia Seedling grape also became known early. However the real value of this grape was not fully appreciated until the correct treatment of its juice was discovered by experimentation. After a while the Catawba

*Prior to the advent of national prohibition Hermann was one of the greatest wine-producing cities east of California.

grape was introduced from Ohio, where it had been cultivated for years. When these vines bore a full crop for the first time, the general excitement was so great, that one might have imagined, that the art of making gold had really been discovered.

"I can well remember the first wine fair in Hermann in the fall of 1848. When I, accompanied by a friend, approached the little town toward evening, we heard a six-pounder, which was posted on a prominence in the town, tender its salutes to the winegrowers, its thundering voice reverberating over hills and valleys. The intelligence of the success in grape culture had spread all over Missouri, as far as the German language was spoken, and visitors, ladies and gentlemen, had come even from St. Louis on steamboats.

"On the next morning a little party started on an excursion to the vineyard of Mr. M. Poeschel. When I saw the enormous quantity of heavy bunched grapes, I did indeed not regret to have come a distance of fully twenty miles. Mr. Poeschel lived at that time about three miles from Hermann, in a narrow, somewhat inaccessible hollow on Coles creek. That part of his vineyard, which was then of bearing age, comprised an area of not quite an acre. The trellises seemed to be nothing but solid walls of grapes, and hardly a rotten berry could be perceived among them.

"The clear profit derived from this vintage was unexpectedly high, and in great demand at high prices since good Catawba wine, if properly treated in the cellars, greatly resembles good Rhenish wine. Everybody wanted to raise grapes now, since an income of $800 to $1,000 was a temptation, which could not be resisted by many. This universal enthusiasm, however, was not of long duration. The Catawba grape began to rot more or less every summer, and sometimes so much so, that almost nothing was left.*

"The wine-growers looked about for more reliable kinds of grapes, and presently quite a number of new varieties became known. The variety that was disseminated most is

*Science had not yet discovered the necessary fungicides, it seems, and fruitgrowers worked blindly and trusted to luck.

the Concord. This grape does not produce an exquisitely flavored wine, but still answers the demands as an ordinary, good table wine. The cultivation of the Concord soon enjoyed great popularity, on account of its profuse bearing capacity. However, this grape, which formerly appeared to be entirely indifferent to all mutations of the season, in recent years commenced to rot also, and even more than the Catawba. I have frequently seen little vineyards of 300 to 400 vines, which scarcely had as much as a single handful of sound berries at the time of vintage.

"Several hundred different varieties of grape are known at present, most of them, however, only by name. A few trials have shown most of them to be failures. A few varieties have gained more conspicuity and more attention has been paid their cultivation. Among these are the Delaware, Herbemont, Rulaender, Iowa, and Taylor-Pullit. These are most excellent varieties for the finest light colored wines. Their cultivation on a large scale is not advisable at present, since all these varieties are subject to various diseases, which make a successful culture very problematic.

"The most energetic and persevering wine-growers have endeavored to obtain new and perhaps more reliable varieties by raising plants directly from the seeds, but this method requires almost incredible patience and perseverance with after all an uncertain result in the end.

"Mr. Nicolaus Grein of Hermann, called Papa Grein by many, is one of the persistent devotees of grape culture. He has untiringly experimented for the last twelve or fourteen years with grape seeds sent to him directly from the Rhine country in Germany. Thus far he has succeeded in obtaining six or eight varieties of the world renowned Riesling grape. The small quantities of wine, that have thus far been made of these grapes, promise to rival successfully with some of the better qualities of the genuine Rhenish wines, provided the grapes will resist the pernicious rot in the future as well as it has done so far.

"One should think that the grape culture ought to be a positive success on the southern slopes of the Ozark moun-

tains, and on the many small as well as large knolls and mounts which rise abruptly from the prairie in southwestern Missouri. The fact does not support this assumption, since Mr. H. Jaeger, who has resided in Newton county for more than ten years, and who has devoted himself principally to the culture of the grape, had the same deplorable experience as the wine growers along the Missouri river.

THE APPROACHING STORM.

"Five years were required for a person, who was foreign born, to become an American citizen. By a former state law those foreign born were barred from participation in state and county elections. A perceivable political influence of the earliest German immigrants was therefore out of all question. Moreover, the field of politics was to most of them new and untried, only some few of the more intelligent immigrants had a more or less distinct conception of American politics. With the exception of the "Anzeiger des Westens," under the editorship of W. Bimpage and later of W. Weber, not a single political paper in the German language was issued and disseminated in Missouri at that early time, and this too, in the country at least, was read only by the so-called 'Latinists,' for the great mass of German country folk had their hands so full in making a living, that they read scarcely anything.

"The old Democratic party, founded upon the principles of Thomas Jefferson, was at that time the dominating party in Missouri. The Whigs were very much in disfavor among the old backwoodsmen. They frequently simply called them 'old Tories,' and during the excitement of a political campaign the expression 'traitor' could be heard. The old pioneers of the far west had not yet forgotten, that the former Tory party, which later had taken on the name of Whigs, had in the time of their fathers, sympathized with the enemy of the country, the English, during the conflict for national independence.

"The great majority of the Germans of that time espoused the principles of the Democratic party, since it was considered to be the most liberal and the most progressive

party. The lively and active participation, which was manifested by the Germans at the elections, was very gratifying to their fellow citizens of American extraction, and as the Germans did not aspire to offices in those early days, they did not stand in the way of the Americans in that respect.

"As long as the Germans harmonized with the ruling party, as long as they had no numerical preponderance, and as long as they did not seek any offices, they enjoyed the benevolence of the majority of the native population. Some, to be sure, could not conquer their prejudice against this foreign element, because they would or could not comprehend its utility, and manifested their ridiculous conceit by looking contemptously upon the Germans in general. However, such silly deportment could not have a very serious effect, for the regard and appreciation, which sensible Americans acceded to their German neighbors fully counterbalanced the stupidity of these knownothings and rendered their folly more pronounced.

"The harmony and concord between the Americans and the Germans began to waver by and by. The reasons for this were obvious enough. German immigration had poured in ever increasing volume into the state. The good public lands were soon taken up. In the middle of the century the Graduation Act, already mentioned, gave an added and renewed impulse to the sale of the poorer and less desirable land. Many of the purchasers of this cheaper land were Germans. The time of the former unrestrained elbow-room, so much cherished by the old Americans, had passed; timber could not be wasted and devastated indiscriminately any longer on public lands; squatters could not erect their cabin wherever it pleased them, according to their old habit.

"The old Americans, who, being more frugal, were in possession of farms of considerable size, could not be injuriously interfered with by these increasing German settlements. Many of them, however, tacidly and perhaps even unconsciously, sympathized with their countrymen, who in reality had an equal opportunity with everyone else, but who could never overcome their indolence and their improvi-

dence sufficiently to alter their indigent situation. The consequence was, that they were obliged to move on to more secluded regions, as soon as they could dispose of their little improvements on public land and make room for actual settlers.

"Even those who owned little farms did not feel comfortable any more, after the Germans had entered up all the vacant lands all around them. Altho the Germans had come into possession in a perfectly legal manner, there were, notwithstanding, many who considered themselves crowded out by them. Others could not suppress a feeling of jealousy and a tacid grudge because they could not keep even pace with the growing wealth of their German neighbors, while they themselves tenaciously clung to their old slovenly mode of farming.

"As early as the forties a few of the papers in the eastern states attacked the institution of slavery as immoral and detrimental. In Missouri, too, voices began to be heard, chiefly in the German press, protesting against slavery. The question of slavery had, however, not yet become a national question. From the time of the presidency of Andrew Jackson, whose second term of office expired in 1836, up to the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 nearly all the presidents were not much more than the pliant tools of the slaveholders.

"In order to prevent the escape of fugitive slaves into the free states Congress passed the infamous Fugitive Slave Law, according to which any citizen of a free state might be compelled to assist in the capture of an escaped slave. The passage of this act provoked an indiscribable and universal indignation throughout the free states, and even though the execution of this mandate was frustrated in most cases by the determined refusal to obey, the mere passage of such a law uncontrovertably manifested the despotism and the disregard of the right of free citizens, whenever they collided with the peculiar interests of slaveholders.

"In 1852 [1849] the slavery question came directly before the people of Missouri. An old resolution, pointing to a dissolution of the Union, was amended by C. F. Jackson in the

Legislature of Missouri to read thus: "that it be declared to be the duty of Missouri to join the South in case the southern states should consider it expedient to secede from the northern states."* This resolution, known universally as the notorious Jackson Resolution was transmitted to Senator Thomas H. Benton with instructions to support the same in Congress. It was very apparent to this noble man, that this resolution was nothing but a concoction of the slaveholders, and by no means the opinion of the loyal citizens of Missouri.† He explained his reasons for his refusal to submit the resolution in an address to the Legislature, declaring that he intended to appeal to the people directly regarding this matter.

"Benton had been the favorite of the people of Missouri during his life time, and his well considered and honorable position on this question had not alienated him from his many friends, not even from the sensible slaveholders, but by his so-called disobedience against the positive orders and expectations of the slave aristocracy he had incurred their inveterate hatred, so that, when his real friends prevailed upon him in the year 1856 to become a candidate for the governorship of Missouri he was defeated by his opponent, Robert Stuart (Stewart), in consequence of the overwhelming influence of the enraged slaveholders.‡

"Governor Stuart (Stewart) was an honest and conscientious officer, whose only fault was that he did not always keep himself within strict limits of sobriety. He was considered a pro-slavery man, but this did not prevent him from being a true and unconditional Union man. If this had been suspected in advance, he probably would not have been elected to the governorship at that time.

"A little anecdote is told of him, which will illustrate his loyalty in a very striking manner. In the year 1860, before

*The "Jackson Resolutions" were introduced and passed in 1849.—Ed.

†The Jackson Resolutions were the work of the younger leaders of the Democratic party in Missouri who proposed them to embarrass, perhaps to defeat, Benton, rather than to forward the cause of slavery, although the latter object was also present.

‡Benton was defeated by Trusten Polk (Democrat), who resigned in February, 1857, to enter the U. S. Senate. At the special election in August, 1857, Robert M. Stewart (Democrat), defeated James S. Rollins (Whig).—Ed.

the expiration of his term of office, he had received an official letter from the Governor of Mississippi, by which Missouri was solicited to join the projected Southern Confederacy. Governor Stuart's reply consisted of three words only, which he had written on the back of the document received and to which he affixed his signature. These three words did not leave a shadow of a doubt as to his candid opinion, however, they are hardly chaste enough to appear in print.

"B. Gratz Brown was a member of the state Legislature in 1856, and very deservedly was considered one of the most talented representatives of the people. He was a Kentuckian by birth and a wealthy slaveholder. In relation to the slavery question he was one of the most enlightened and unprejudiced of men, moreover he was a man of great decision and courage.

"During the session of 1856 B. Gratz Brown dared to advocate the abolition of slavery in Missouri. This he did in a sterling address in the very face of a Legislature three-fourths of whose members were rabid pro-slavery fanatics, who deemed this audacity almost a capital crime. Brown had commenced his speech during a morning session and had not finished, when the Assembly adjourned for dinner. According to parliamentary decorum, he was entitled to the floor again as soon as the members had been called to order in the afternoon, but the rage of his slavery-bigoted colleagues was so uncontrolable, that they set aside all rules of courtesy and did not let him finish his remarks.

"It was a futile endeavor to try to efface the impression of this first outspoken anti-slavery speech by this ridiculous and inconsiderate conduct. This speech was printed and disseminated in pamphlet form over a great part of the United States. The sentiment, which was aroused by this document was great and favorable beyond all expectation, since thousands could not see black on white, what they themselves had thought long ago, but had been too timid to utter their sentiments.

"The Germans in Missouri were in a very critical and even perilous position at the time, when the waves of excite-

ment rose higher and higher every day, since they were indiscriminately considered to be abolitionists. They were indeed in a far more precarious situation than those of their countrymen, who had settled in free states. This, even then very numerous intelligent and self-thinking element was almost unanimously opposed to slavery. Only some few distorted, queerheaded individuals were pitiful exceptions. The great mass of those who were politically too inexperienced to take position according to their own independent judgment, were carried off by the decided determination of their more self-conscious countrymen, and they voted at all elections unconditionally with those whom they had always tacidly recognized as their guides. When they were finally placed before the alternative to decide, whether they would be unconditional Union men or would consent to a disintegration of the Union, their conscientiousness, by which they resolved to remain true to their oath of allegiance, overbalanced all other considerations and thus the great mass of Germans did not perjure themselves but stood up in defence of the banner of the country.*

Note:—This closes the translation reproduced here of Goebel's work. The remainder of his book deals with the war period.

VON MARTELS' "LETTERS."

In one of his letters† Frederick Steines mentions a book about Missouri by a certain Mr. von Martels.‡ This book, which imitates Duden's style, has the following title:

"Letters concerning the western part of the United States of North America, together with a map of the State of Mis-

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*For a list of the names of Germans who joined the Union army in Missouri compare Robert J. Rombauer's "The Union Cause in St. Louis in 1861," privately printed in St. Louis, 1909.

†See "The Missouri Historical Review" Vol. XV, No. 4, pages 678 and 679.

‡After many vain attempts to locate this book in the various libraries of this country, the author finally found it in the Public Library of Belleville, Illinois, where it constitutes a part of a large and valuable collection of German Americana. The Librarian, Miss Bella Steuernagel, most generously loaned this rare book to the writer, for which helpful kindness his thanks are here publicly expressed.

souri. By Heinrich von Martels, First Lieutenant of the 8th Royal Hanovarian Battalion. Osnabrueck, 1834."

Gustav Koerner* tells us that Heinrich von Martels was born in the castle Dankern, in the Dutchy Arenberg-Meppen, that he attended the Gymnasium at Osnabrueck and then entered the army. In 1832 he in company with his father and his brothers sailed for America, lured thither by the "Report" of Duden, and settled in Missouri, in the vicinity of Duden's farm. In 1833 he returned to his native land and there published the above mentioned book, in which fact and fiction is most curiously intermingled. This fata morgana of a book of travel is marked by an easy and clever style. In 1839 he secured his discharge from the army and devoted himself to philosophic study. In 1845 he returned to America, went to Texas, later to Colorado, where he procured a considerable estate, which he subsequently lost. In 1850 he went to Cincinnati where for several years he was employed in the publishing office of "Der Volksfreund." He discontinued his literary activity and devoted himself to agriculture on a farm which he bought in Clermont county, Ohio. In 1860 he returned to journalism. He was thoroughly versed in the classical languages and spoke almost all the modern languages fluently. Thus equipped he filled the position of court interpreter with great efficiency. Literary production, either in prose or verse, was his favorite employment to the end.

Von Martels' style is very florid at times. The greater part of the book does not possess sufficient merit to warrant reproduction. It is of interest, however, to know that a man who had been brought here by Duden's picturesque report, should seek to induce his fellow countrymen to follow in his footsteps after he had seen the land so enthusiastically described by his predecessor. There is sufficient evidence also that his words were quite extensively read. Parts of von Martels' letters are here translated, since they contribute certain facts not previously treated by others.

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*Gustav Koerner's "Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten," pp. 193-4.

Marthasville (Mo.), October 27, 1832.

"We have taken board with a Mr. Bryant, one of the oldest settlers in this region. He came with Colonel Boone from Kentucky, thirty years ago. For $1.25 a week we have a pleasant room and good board.

October 30, 1832.

"Yesterday and again today we went to Hickory Grove, a pretty prairie village, which is inhabited by people from New York. We looked at some farms.

October 31, 1832.

"Today we made the acquaintance of two excellent German countrymen, the Messrs. Mallinkrodt from Dortmund. They have lived here since last year. Their farm is splendidly located on the Missouri river.

November 1, 1832.

"We have inspected more than a dozen farms. It seems remarkable that every American is willing to sell his land. A German told us that Major Boone, whose estate is located on the Femme Osage, and whom Duden mentions in his book, is willing to sell out for $4,000. We went there, but unfortunately the Major, who in the last war against the Indians commanded the Rangers, has again gone to Arkansas, and will not return till next summer.

"I was greatly interested in Mrs. Boone's story of her life. Thirty years ago she, then only sixteen years old, left Kentucky with her seventeen-year-old husband. Both possessed nothing but the horses which they rode, a rifle, an axe, and a few blankets. They built their first house out of tree trunks and the bark of the cottonwood trees. At first they lived entirely from the spoils of the hunt. Mr. Boone knew the science of surveying which later yielded him a good income. They became the parents of ten children. Old Colonel Boone spent the last years of his eventful life with this son. Major Boone went security for a person whom he thought to be his friend. The latter, however, secretly sold

his belongings and escaped. Thus Boone had to meet an obligation of $5,000.

"In spite of the hardship which she has endured, Mrs. Boone is a well preserved person. She and her pretty daughters were engaged in making very artistic blankets.

November 3, 1832.

"A farm adjoining that of the Messrs. Mallinkrodt pleased us especially. We bought it for $1,200. We also bought the owners entire corn crop, twelve acres of wheat, 500 bushels of turnips, 100 hogs, 8 cows, 15 sheep, and a lot of chickens all for $300. The buildings on the property consist of several old log houses. A new two story dwelling house has to be finished on the inside. The farm contains 160 acres, of which 130 acres are in the Missouri bottom and the rest upland. We shall buy 600 acres of government land which adjoins it.

November 10, 1832.

"A family which does not command over sufficient means will do well to rent for a while. The rental per acre of bottom land amounts to ten bushels of the grain raised thereon, on the uplands six bushels.

"One of the chief drawbacks here is the lack of mills. There is a flour mill as also a saw mill near by, driven by water power, however the mill is in poor condition and lacks sufficient water. There are also several horse-driven mills. At the former the toll amounts to 1-5 of the grain ground, at the latter the toll is 1-5 if one uses one's own horses to propel the mill, otherwise it is 1-3. Often we must wait a whole day for a chance to grind.

November 14, 1832.

"Mr. Rathje and Mr. Bluemner have bought a very pretty farm, together with the crop, one German mile from us, for $1,600. The place contains a stone dwelling house, a distillery, and a mill.

"Mr. Rathje has a piano which arouses general admiration. Many Americans and their wives come twenty miles to hear and see it.

"A Mr. Goltermann from Celle has bought a farm on the nearby high prairie. With his two slaves he put forty acres under cultivation during the last summer. He put in twenty acres of wheat and erected several buildings. However, I believe that he is sorry now that he bought prairie land instead of timber land.

"The prairie grass is very nutritious. Cattle and horses, that have wintered without shelter and care, and in the spring can scarcely climb the hills to the prairies, recover as by magic on this sort of pasture.

"When they break prairie here, they use six yokes of oxen to one plow. The cost of breaking an acre of prairie land is $2.00. One plow can usually break 1½ acres per day.

"The advantages of settling on the prairie are offset by certain disadvantages. In the first place there is a lack of good water. There are no acorns and nuts for the hogs. The subsoil is impervious clay. There is no building material. Prairie fires destroy the grass and endanger the human habitations. Mr. Goltermann and Mr. Schulz thus lost all their hay and only with great difficulty saved fences and their dwellings.

January 2, 1833.

"New Year's night we spent at the home of the Messrs. Rathje and Bluemner. On the following morning we greeted the new year from the summit of a hill, which commands a view over the surrounding country. The beautiful song, "Herr Gott, dich loben wir" (Lord God, we praise Thee) sung by twelve strong and clear men's voices produced a remarkable effect upon us. There was the awe-inspiring nature, the glory of the rising sun, which flooded with its rays the wild beauty of our surroundings, a splendid panorama before our feet, all held in the icy grip of death. We thought of our lonely situation far from our dear relatives and friends—a sweet melancholy filled our souls.

"A three-weeks excursion, made in company with my brother, a young American, and an English army captain, who is staying with us, was replete with interest. We rode along the left bank of the Missouri through the counties

of Montgomery, Callaway, Boone and Howard, crossed the Missouri and journeying south passed through the Ozark mountains, so rich in minerals and game, saw the leadmines at Potosi in Washington county, and came back through Franklin county to our estate. In Boone and Callaway counties hundreds of well cultivated farms are for sale. On the Osage the Jesuits have established a school where they educated young Indians.

January 30, 1833.

"Mr. Angelroth has bought several thousand acres of fine land on the Missouri. He came as a member of the Thuringian society. He spent several months in Pennsylvania and Ohio, but decided to come to Missouri, where he hired slaves, whom he treats very humanely.

"On a journey to St. Charles, Corondelet, Belleville, Portage des Sioux, Florissant and Kaskaskia I got acquainted with the descendants of the French who immigrated many years ago. Although most of them are mixtures of French and Indian blood they seem nevertheless vivacious Frenchmen, with their good and bad characteristics. Their whitewashed huts, their well kept gardens, their poorly fenced, poorly tilled, mediocre corn fields, their small ponies and their goats indicate at once that these villages are not inhabited by Americans or Germans. There are no jollier people in all the United States. They have preserved all the gaieté du coeur of their forefathers. The dance is their chief amusement.

"Les Demoiselles are not as cold and phlegmatic as the American ladies, but they are not as good housewives either. If monsieur desires peace in his house, there must be no lack of coffee and sugar, for madame loves la conversation et al tracasserie with her neighbors, and during these café et biscuit des choses trés necessaries. They have not forgotten their former Indian neighbors with whom they were on very friendly footing. Their young men, les jeunes coureurs des bois, like the Indians, hate all work, and spend the greater part of their lives in the woods and on the rivers as hunters, trappers and fur traders.

"Since these good people, because of our knowledge of their language, our French sounding name, and our religion regarded us as their countrymen, they sought to induce us to stay a while with them. Our kindly hosts accompanied us several miles on our way and at our final parting, thanked us, amid a hundred bows and tipping of hats, for the honor we had shown their village, invited us to come again, and assured us that les demoiselles Josephine, Natalie et la belle Philipine, la rose du village expressed the same wish.

"At General Clark's, who is in charge of Indian affairs, I saw several Ottos from the upper Missouri. General Clark's museum contains many Indian curiosities, the greater part of which he gathered in the years 1804-6, when he and Captain Lewis and forty companions explored the Louisiana Purchase. When the seventy year old General Clark spoke of the daughters of the Mandans and other tribes, his eyes beamed with youthful fire and he assured me that they were the handsomest women in the world.

February 24, 1833.

"Yesterday we attended a dance in our neighborhood. Farmers who have daughters and whose houses have floors that are sufficiently smooth for dancing, alternately give such dances. They occur every two or three weeks. The daughters of the house invite the ladies of the neighborhood. All the gentlemen come without an invitation and each pays $1.00 or $1.50. The guests all come on horseback. During the evening a good supper was served. The gentlemen who did not dance discussed politics over a glass of apple or peach brandy.

"In St. Charles and its environment a great number of German farmers and artisans have settled. The town has a population of 1,400. It owns many thousand acres of land which the village received from the Spanish government. This land is divided into 80 acre tracts. For $80 and a small annual tax the town issues an hereditary lease for a period of 999 years. Most of the land has now gone into the hands of speculators. . . . . There are three churches belonging to the Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist denominations, also a

cloister, a court of justice, and two steam mills are in the process of construction. A Doctor Millington has laid out a tree nursery which is doing well. Among the French inhabitants of St. Charles there are many who are in the employ of fur companies. An ordinary hunter gets $15 a month and a part of the booty. He must, however, provide his own horse, rifle, etc.

"Among the German artisans in St. Charles there is a blacksmith by the name of Greter. He is a very successful workman. He endured great hardship, for as a redemptionist* he had to work for five years to pay for his ocean voyage. He is considered the best blacksmith in these parts. His specialty is making chains.

"Perhaps in no country so many duels are fought as in America.

"My brother was in St. Charles a few days ago, where he bought a big three-year-old bear for $4.00. Our negro happened to be in town with a wagon, so he brought the bear back with him. After lengthy consultation we decided to sacrifice this bear to Artemis. We invited all our neighbors to come with their big dogs. More than thirty men appeared and after a hearty meal the comedy or rather tragedy began. Bruin was in a place surrounded by a ten-foot stockade. Around it stood forty big dogs, barking viciously at the captive. Each man claimed the honor of being the first to set his dogs on the bear. Since it was utterly impossible to come to any agreement, it was decided to give the prize to those dogs that put up the best fight. Two of my dogs bore distinct scars which they had gotten in previous fights with bears. They began the attack. They fared so badly,

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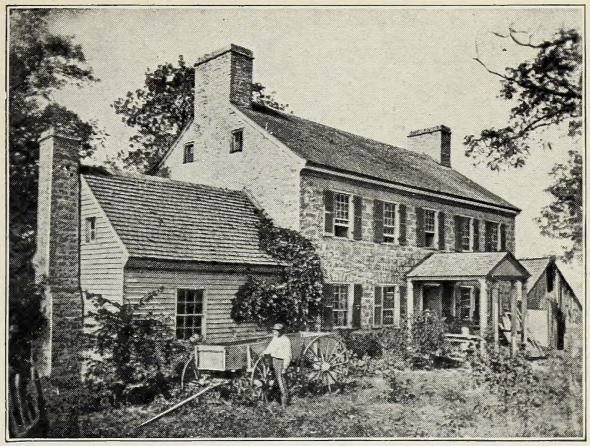
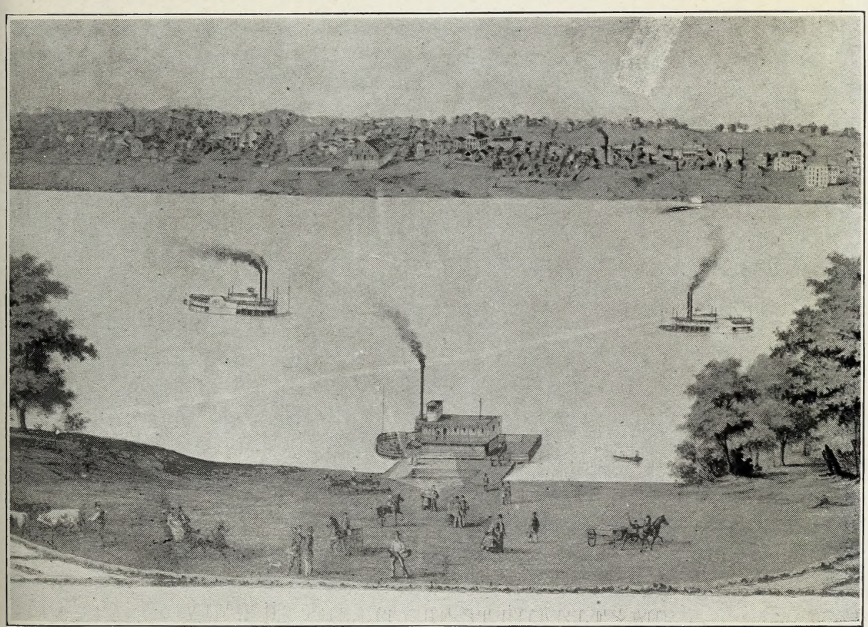
*A. B. Faust, "The German Element in the United States," tells on p. 66 ff. of Vol. I the harrowing tale of the redemption system that obtained during the 18th and early part of the 19th centuries. Poor immigrants had their passage paid for by the captain or owners of the ships. Upon arriving in America they were actually sold into serfdom for a consideration which was in excess of the regular fare charged, thus enslaving the immigrant longer than justice demanded. Sales of these redemptionists were advertised in the papers. Here is an example: "To be sold—A likely Servant Woman having three years and a half to serve. She is a good spinner" (Pennsylvania Gazette" June, 1742). For full account of this gruesome business, see Faust's work.



Nathan Boone House Near Marthasville, (Mo.), Where Daniel Boone Died in 1820



St. Charles, Missouri, In The Fifties

however, that we at once had to send in help. For longer than an hour the big hounds fought with the bear. A single blow of the paws of the bear sent one hound after the other sprawling on the ground. Finally we felt sorry for the dogs and the bear, and a bullet put an end to the affair. Seven dogs were so mutilated that they had to be shot. Most of the others were wounded to a greater or less degree. All spectators, however, agreed that this had been the greatest sport they had experienced for years."

On the 12th of March 1833 von Martels writes from St. Louis. He is on his way home. He later refers to his journey through Virginia, his brief stay in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and tells of his arrival in Bremen after a sea journey of thirty-eight days. In conclusion he states that he submitted a part of his letters to Gottfried Duden, who approved of them before they were published.

The map of the state of Missouri appended to the book is a strange appearing document. A Missourian can scarcely recognize his native state in it. In the upper right hand corner of the map there is given a small section of the eastern part of the state in which von Martels as also other German immigrants were chiefly interested. Since it names and locates a great number of the followers of Duden with a good deal of accuracy, the small map is here reproduced.

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO

AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR

JOHN N. EDWARDS

TENTH ARTICLE

CHAPTER XIX.

The annunciation of Maximilian's emphatic resolution bore heavily upon the Americans for some brief hours, and they gathered about their barracks in squads and groups to talk over the matter as philosophers and look the future full in the face like men. A soldier is most generally a fatalist. Some few of them have presentiments, and some that abounding reverence for the Scriptures that makes them Christians even in the vengeful passions of pursuit; but to the masses rarely ever comes any thought of the invisible—any care for what lies out of sight and out of reach and under the shadows of the sunset world. Sufficient unto the day is indeed for them the evil thereof.

These Americans, however, of Shelby's had moralized much about the future, and had dreamed, it may be, many useless and unprofitable dreams about the conquests that were to give to them a home, a flag, a country—a portion of a new land filled full of the richness of the mines and the tropics. And many times in dreaming these dreams they went hungry for bread. Silver had become almost invisible of late, and if all the purses of the men had been emptied into the lap of a woman, the dollars that might have been gathered up would scarcely have paid the price of a bridal veil. Still they were cheerful. When every other resource failed, they knew they were in a land of robbers, and that for horses and arms none surpassed them in all the Empire. Hence when Shelby called them around him after his interview with the

Emperor it was with something of apathy or at least of indifference that they listened to his report.

"We are not wanted," he commenced, "and perhaps it is best so. Those who have fought as you have for a principle have nothing more to gain in a war for occupation or conquest. Our necessities are grevious, it is true, and there is no work for us in the line of our profession; but today as upon the first day I took command of you, I stand ready to abide your decision in the matter of our destiny. If you say we shall march to the headquarters of Juarez, then we shall march, although all of you will bear me witness that at Piedras Negras I counseled immediate and earnest service in his government. You refused then as you will refuse today. Why? Because you are all Imperialists at heart just as I am, and because, poor simpletons, you imagined that France and the United States might come to blows at last. Bah! the day for that has gone by. Louis Napoleon slept too long. The only foreigner who ever understood our war—who ever looked across the ocean with anything of a prophet's vision —who ever said yes when he meant yes and no when he said no—was Palmerston, and he was an Abolitionist *per se*."

Here Shelby checked himself suddenly. The old ironical fit had taken possession of him—one which always came to him on the eve of the battle or the morning of the conflict:

"I find myself quoting Latin when I do not even understand Spanish. How many of you know enough Spanish to get you a Spanish wife with an acre of bread fruit, twenty-five tobacco plants and a handful of corn? We cannot starve, boys."

The men laughed long and loud. They had been gloomy at first and a little resolved, some of them, to take to the highway. As poor as the poorest there, Shelby came among them with his badinage and his laughter, and in an hour the forces of the Expedition were as a happy family again. Plans for the future were presented, discussed and abandoned. Perhaps there would be no longer any further unity of action. A great cohesive power had been suddenly taken away, and there was danger of the band breaking up—a band that had

been winnowed in the fierce winds of battle, and made to act as with one impulse, by the iron influences of discipline and disaster. Many came solely for the service they expected to take. If they had to dig in the ground, or suffer chances in the raising of cotton or corn, they preferred to do it where it was not necessary to plow by day and stand guard over the mules and oxen at night—to get a bed at the end of the furrows instead of a fusilade.

To do anything, however, or to move in any direction, it was necessary first to have a little money. Gov. Reynolds, with the same zeal and devotion that had always characterized his efforts in behalf of Missourians during the war in his own country, sought now to obtain a little favor for the men at the hands of Marshal Bazaine. In conjunction with Gen. Magruder, he sought an interview with the Marshal, and represented to him that at Parras the Expedition had been turned from its original course, and forced to march into the interior by his own positive orders. This movement necessarily cut it off from all communication with friends at home, and rendered it impossible for those who composed it to receive either letters or supplies. Had it been otherwise, and had the march to the Pacific been permitted, in conformity with the original intention, access to California was easy, and the trips of the incoming and outgoing steamers to and from Guaymas and Mazatlan regular and reliable. In their view, therefore, the Marshal, they thought, should at least take the matter under consideration, and act in the premises as one soldier should in dealing with another.

Bazaine was generous to extravagance, as most French officers are who hold power in their hands, and whose whole lives have been spent in barrack and field. He took from his military chest fifty dollars apiece for the men and officers, share and share alike, and this amount came to each as a rain to a field that the sun is parching. It put into their hands in a moment, as it were, the choosing of their own destiny. Thereafter every man went the way that suited him best.

Commodore Maury had, several months before, been made Imperial Commissioner of Emigration, and was at work upon his duties with the ambition of a sailor and the intelligence of a *savant*. All who came in contact with him loved the simple, frugal, gentle Christian of the spiritual church and the church militant. Some of his family were with him. His son was there, Col. Richard H. Maury, and his son's wife, and other Americans who had families, and who were at work in his office. These formed a little society of themselves—a light as it were in the night of the exiles. The Commodore gave the entire energies of his massive mind to the work before him. He knew well the exhausted and discontented condition of the South, and he believed that a large emigration could be secured with but little exertion. He dispatched agents to the United States charged with the duty of representing properly the advantages and resources of the country, and of laying before the people the exact condition of Mexican affairs. This some of them did in a most satisfactory manner, and as a result a great excitement arose. By one mail from New York he received over seven hundred letters asking for circulars descriptive of the country, and of the way to reach it.

Maury's renown had filled the old world as well as the new. His "Physical Geography of the Sea" saw itself adorned in the graces of eleven separate languages. It also brought him fame, medals, crosses, broad ribbons of appreciation and purses well filled with gold, these last being the offerings sea captains and shippers made to the genius who laid his hand upon the ocean as upon a slate, and traced thereon the routes that the winds favored, and the routes that had in ambush upon them shipwreck and disaster. His calm, benevolent face, set in a framework of iron gray hair, was one which the women and the children loved—a picture that had over it the aureole of a saint. No gentler man ever broke bread at the table of a court. Much of the crispness and the sparkle of the salt water ran through his conversation. He was epigrammatic to a degree only attained on board a man-of-war. His mind had the logic of instinct. He divined while other men delved. Always a student, the brilliance of his imagination required

at his hands the most constant curbing. Who that has read that book of all sea books has forgotten his reference to the gulf stream when he says "There is a river in the midst of the ocean." Destiny gave him a long life that he might combat against the treachery of the sea. When he died he was a conqueror.

Gen. Magruder was the imperial Commissioner of the Land Office, and he, too, had gathered his family around him, and taken into his service other Americans weary of degradation at home, and exiles in a land that might today have been Maximilian's. Magruder had once before entered Mexico as a conqueror. All its ways and its moods were known to him, and often in the sunshiny weather, when the blue air blessed the glad earth with its blessings of freshness and fragrance, those who were dreaming of the past followed him hour after hour about Chepultepec, and over the broken way of Cerro Gordo, and in amid the ruins of Molino del Rey, and there where the Belen gate stood yet in ghastly and scattered fragments, and yonder in its pedregral and under the shadow of Huasco, about the crest of Churubusco, green now in the garments of summer, and asleep so peacefully in the arms of the sunset that the younger loiterers think the old man strange when he tells of the storm and the massacre, the wounded that were bayoneted and the dead that were butchered after all life had fled. There are no spectres there, and no graves among the ruins, and no splotches as of blood upon the velvet leaves. Yes, surely the old man wanders, for but yesterday, it seems to them, the battle was fought.

Soldiers never repine. Destiny with them has a name which is called April. One day it is gracious in sunshiny things, and the next ruinous with rainstorms and cloudy weather. As it comes they take it, laughing always and at peace with the world and the things of the world. Some faces lengthened, it may be, and some hopes fell in the hey-day and the morning of their life, when Shelby told briefly the story of the interview, but beyond the expressions of a certain vague regret, no man went. Another separation was

near at hand, one which, for the most of them there, would be the last and irrevocable.

In the vicinity of Cordova there was a large extent of uncultivated land which had once belonged to the Church, and which had been rudely and unscrupulously confiscated by Juarez. When Maximilian came into possession of the government, it was confidently believed that he would restore to the church its revenues and territory, and more especially that portion of the ecclesiastical domain so eminently valuable as that about Cordova. It embraced, probably, some half a million acres of cotton and sugar and coffee land, well-watered, and lying directly upon the great national road from Vera Cruz to the capital, and upon the Mexican Imperial Railway, then finished, to Paso del Macho, twenty-five miles southward from Cordova.

Maximilian, however, confirmed the decree of confiscation issued by Juarez, and set all this land apart for the benefit of American emigrants who, as actual settlers, desired to locate upon it and begin at once the work of cultivation. Men having families received six hundred and forty acres of land, at the stipulated price of one dollar and a quarter per acre, and men without families three hundred and twenty acres at the same price. Commissioner Maury, remembering his schooling and the experience of his Washington days when he ruled the National Observatory so much to the glory of his country and the honor of science, adopted the American plan of division, and thereby secured the establishment of a system that was as familiar to the new comers as it was satisfactory.

Many settlers arrived and went at once to the colony, which, in honor of the most perfect woman of the Nineteenth Century, was named Carlota. A village sprung up almost in a night. The men were happy and sung at their toil. Birds of beautiful plumage flew near and nearer to them while they plowed, and in the heat of the afternoons they reposed for comfort under orange trees that were white with bloom and golden with fruit at the same time. So impatient is life in that tropical land that there is no death. Before it is

night over the eyes the sun again has peopled all the groves with melody and perfume. The village had begun to put on the garments of a town. Emigration increased. The fame of Carlota went abroad, and what had before appeared only a thin stream of settlers, now took the form of an inundation.

Shelby told his men all he knew about Carlota, and advised them briefly to preempt the legal quantity of land and give up at once any further idea of service in the ranks of Maximilian's army. Many accepted his advice and entered at once and heartily upon the duties of this new life. Others, unwilling to remain in the Empire as colonists, received permission from Bazaine to march to the Pacific. On the long and dangerous road some died, some were killed, and some took shipping for California, for China, for Japan, and for the Sandwich Islands. A few, hearing wonderful stories of the treasures Kidd, the pirate, had buried on an island in the Pacific Ocean, got aboard a schooner at Mazatlan and sailed away in quest of gold. Those that survived the adventure returned starving and for bread joined the Imperial army in Sonora. Perhaps fifty took service in the Third Zouaves. A singular incident determined the regiment of their choice. After authority had been received from the Marshal for the enlistment, a dozen or more strolled into the Almeda where of evenings the bands played and the soldiers of all arms promenaded. In each corps a certain standard of height had to be complied with. The grenadiers had need to be six feet, the artillerymen six feet and an inch, the cuirassiers six feet, and the hussars six feet. Not all being of the same stature, and not wishing to be separated, the choice of the Americans was reduced to the infantry regiments. It is further obligatory in the French service, that when soldiers are on duty, the private in addressing an officer shall remove his cap and remain with it in his hand until the conversation is finished. This was a species of discipline the Americans had never learned, and they stood watching the various groups as they passed to and fro, complying scrupulously with the regulations of the service. At last a squad of Zouaves sauntered

nonchalantly by—great bearded, medalled fellows, bronzed by African suns and swarthy of brow and cheek as any Arab of the desert. The picturesque uniform attracted all eyes. It was war dramatized—it was campaigning expressed in poetry. An officer called to one of the Zouaves, and he went forward saluting. This was done by bringing the right hand up against the turban, with the palm extended in token of respect, but the turban itself was not removed. The subordinate did not uncover to his superior, and therefore would the Americans put on turbans, and make Zouaves of themselves. Capt. Pierron, more of an American than a Frenchman, supervised the metamorphosis, and when the *toilette* was complete even Shelby himself, with his accurate cavalry eyes, scarcely recognized his old Confederates of the four years' war. At daylight the next morning they were marching away to Monterey at the double quick.

Gen. Sterling Price, of Missouri, with a remnant of his body guard and a few personal friends, built himself a bamboo house in the town of Carlota, and commenced in good earnest the life of a farmer. Emigration was active now both from Texas overland and by water from the gulf. Gen. Slaughter and Capt. Price established a large saw mill at Orizava. Gen. Bee engaged extensively in the raising of cotton, as, also, did Captains Cundiff and Hodge. Gen. Hindman, having mastered the Spanish language in the short space of three months, commenced the practice of law in Cordova. Gen. Stevens, the chief engineer of Gen. Lee's staff, was made chief engineer of the Mexican Imperial Railway. Gov. Reynolds was appointed superintendent of two short line railroads running out from the city. Gen. Shelby and Maj. McMurty, with headquarters at Cordova, became large freight contractors, and established a line of wagons from Paso del Macho to the capital. Ex-Gov. Allen, of Louisiana, assisted by the Emperor, founded the *Mexican Times*, a paper printed in English, and devoted to the interests of colonization. Generals Lyon, of Kentucky, and McCausland, of Virginia, were appointed government surveyors. Gen. Watkins was taken into the diplomatic service.

and sent to Washington on a special mission. Everywhere the Americans were honored and promoted, but the army, to any considerable number of them, was as a sealed book. Where they could have done the most good they were forbidden to enter.

To the superficial observer the condition of affairs in Mexico in the latter part of the year 1865 seemed most favorable, indeed, to the ultimate and successful establishment of the empire. The French troops occupied the entire country. M. Langlais, one of Napoleon's most favored ministers, had charge of the finances. Under his experienced hands order was rapidly lifting itself above the waves of chaos. The church party, always jealous and suspicious, still yielded a kind of sullen and ungracious allegiance. Maximilian was a devout Catholic, and his Empress was a devotee in all spiritual matters, but theirs was the enlightened Catholicism of Europe, which preferred to march with events and to develop instead of attempting to thwart and retard the inevitable advance of destiny. They desired to throw off the superstition of a century of ignorance and degradation, and let a flood of light pour itself over the nation. An impoverished people had not only mortgaged their lands to the clergy but their labor as well. The revenues were divided equally between the Bishops and the commandantes of the districts. Among the Indians the influence of the monks was supreme. In their hands at any hour was peace or war. They began by asserting their right to control the Emperor, they ended in undisguised and open revolt. Desiring above all things the confidence and support of the church, Maximilian found himself suddenly in an unfortunate and embarrassing position. He was between two fires as it were, either of which was most formidable, and in avoiding the one he only made the accuracy of the other all the more deadly. Without the revenue derived from the sequestrated lands the church had owned in enormous quantities, he could not for a month have paid the expenses of his government. Had he believed a restoration advisable he would have found it simply impossible. The Arch-Bishop was inexorable. Excommunication was threatened. For weeks

and weeks there were conferences and attempted compromises. Bazaine, never very punctual in his religious duties, and over apt to cut knots that he could not untie, had always the same ultimatum.

"Our necessities are great," he would say, "and we must have money. You do not cultivate your lands, and will not sell them, you are opposed to railroads, to emigration, to public improvements, to education, to a new life of any kind, form or fashion, and we must advance somehow and build up as we go. Not a foot shall be returned while a French soldier can shoot a chassapot."

The blunt logic of the soldier bruised while it wounded. Maximilian, more conservative, tried entreaties and expostulations, but with the same effect. A breach had been opened up which was to increase in width and destruction until the whole fabric fell in ruins. When in his direst extremity, the Emperor was abandoned by the party which of all others had the most to lose and expiate by his overthrow.

PIONEER LIFE IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI

BY WILEY BRITTON

SEVENTH ARTICLE

CHAPTER XXVIII

PREPARING FOR ACTIVE SERVICE.

On our arrival at Fort Scott we found some military activity, the leading Union men having recently heard of the great preparations the secessionists of Missouri were making for a great battle with the Federal forces at Springfield under General Lyon. Captain W. C. Ransom who had been Receiver of the United States Land Office at Fort Scott, had just received authority from General Lyon to raise a regiment of Kansas Volunteers, and had already recruited part of a company of infantry and had them in camp instructing them. About the same time Captain H. S. Greeno and Captain Lewis R. Jewell had recruited parts of two mounted companies who made their headquarters at Fort Scott, which had been abandoned as a Regular Army Post, but which had been provided with officers' quarters and quarters for two companies of soldiers. There were several men around town who had been discharged from the Regular Army after having served terms of five years or more, and there were a few men who had seen service in the Mexican War, who were looked upon by the raw recruit as men of distinction.

When the recruiting commenced and news of the disaster of Bull Run came in, increasing the excitement, the discharged soldiers around town organized a fife and drum corps which played stirring patriotic airs several times a day in front of the recruiting headquarters, drawing crowds of all classes of men. After father and brother and I had been there a few days, we canvassed the matter as well as we could, and my brother and I decided to enlist, he going into

the cavalry and I into the infantry company. The war feeling was running high, and almost every day we saw Union men coming in from the western counties of Missouri, and they told us how they had been obliged to travel by night to keep from falling into the hands of secessionists.

These refugees from their homes soon became acquainted and recounted to each other their troubles and persecutions, and of their hopes and fears for the Union cause, for which they were making such great sacrifices. They had for some time been cut off from all information as to what the Government was doing in the other seceding States, and even in other parts of Missouri, and knowing that the secessionists had completely over-run Southwest Missouri, they sometimes took a gloomy view of the situation. They were unable to see, and even men more favorably situated were unable to see why the Government was so backward in getting its forces organized to strike a blow at secession, a blow more effective than any they had heard of.

The task of organizing, arming, equipping and fitting out armies for active operations covering a front of upwards of a thousand miles, was greater than had been anticipated in the first movements against the armies of secession. Most of the young men, single or married, who were obliged to leave their homes and come to Kansas, on account of the danger and persecution from the secessionists, enlisted in companies of the Sixth Kansas Volunteers, then being recruited and organized at Fort Scott. On entering the service there was a prospect that detachments of mounted troops might be able in a short time to visit the localities where some of the men lived and bring out their families to Kansas. This was occasionally done by scouting detachments going fifty to sixty miles into Missouri; but at that time the mounted force at Fort Scott was not strong enough to spare more than a company for that kind of service. We heard nearly every day from Union men coming into Fort Scott, of detachments of secessionists passing down the western border counties of Missouri, to join the Southern forces then concentrating in

Newton and McDonald counties and preparing for the advance on the Federal forces at Springfield.

There was considerable anxiety at Fort Scott in regard to the possibility of some of the secession detachments making a raid through eastern Kansas, on their march south, so that all of our available mounted men were needed for scouting purposes in Missouri, in ascertaining the movements of the enemy.

During the territorial troubles, and on up to the war, Fort Scott had been the headquarters of the pro-slavery leaders in Kansas; some of the prominent families living there had expressed themselves as strong Southern sympathizers, and were believed by some of our people to be in secret communication with the secessionists of Missouri, and advising them of our movements.

The place had not yet become an important supply depot for fitting out and equipping the troops, and if we had been driven out by the enemy, its capture would have been only temporary, for we could have been immediately reinforced by regiments being organized in the counties north of us.

Nearly all the young men enlisting at Fort Scott in the summer of 1861 were certainly green in regard to military matters. They were, however, intensely patriotic and eager to learn, and when we took off our citizen's clothing and put on our new blue uniforms, one did not look much greener than another, for all were greatly improved in personal appearance.

After the men were sworn in there was very little delay in furnishing them uniforms and arms, such arms as the Government was then issuing to the troops in our department; but very inferior to the arms later supplied to the army. The raising of upwards of three hundred thousand troops in three or four months had put the severest strain upon the Government to supply them with arms, ammunition and equipments for active field service. Its agents in Europe purchased great quantities of small arms from the nations of Continental Europe who were adopting new and improved models for their armies, and in this emergency of ours, were able to sell to our Government at big prices, their worthless old guns,

carbines and pistols, which were only fit to be broken up and sent to the scrap heap.

We had issued to us some of the worthless guns and carbines of foreign make, and we also had some Sharp's Carbines, then perhaps the best cavalry arm in use, for our mounted companies, through the influence of General Lane, then United States Senator from Kansas, and a warm supporter of President Lincoln. General Lane and other Kansas men knew the worth of Sharp's carbines since the early days of territorial troubles, when Henry Ward Beecher, the great Brooklyn preacher and friend of the Free State cause, suggested the sending to the Free State men of Kansas, Sharp's Rifles as well as Bibles, as being most effective in determining the result of the political issue there. Sharp's Rifles having been associated with the weapons of the Free State men in the Kansas troubles, perhaps made it easier to get our requisitions for them filled than requisitions from other quarters. In scouting and skirmishing this rifle or carbine, gave our mounted troops an advantage over the secessionists, for with raised sights, with which it was provided, it could be used effectively half a mile, whereas the Southern troops did not have a cavalry arm that could be effectively used for more than two or three hundred yards against an enemy.

Very soon after the company officers were elected, the men were required to pass several hours a day in drilling, the manual of arms, the school of the soldier and target practice. In every camp there was an officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier, who had had experience in the military service in the Mexican war, Regular Army, or foreign military service, and who was able to put us through the manual of arms, the step and the different movements up to company drill.

Directly after enlistment I secured a copy of General Scott's Tactics with the intention of studying it carefully, but soon found it was not used; that Hardee's Infantry Tactics, a small volume, was then being used by officers of the army, and the captain of every company immediately provided himself with a copy, notwithstanding the fact that Hardee had become a distinguished officer of the Southern

army, and was then organizing the Confederate forces in northeastern Arkansas to invade southeastern Missouri. The captain and his lieutenants studied the book until either of them could handle the company on drill, and if necessary in action, and as we might be attacked at any moment, the officers of the company lost no time in instructing themselves as to their duties, and the duties of the men under their command.

The captain and orderly sergeant of the company transacted practically all its business, and as they were kept a good deal of the time busy with the drills, the making details for camp guard and camp duties and the calling of the roll night and morning, a company clerk was detailed to attend to the clerical business, as making our requisitions for commissary and quartermaster supplies and keeping the property accounts of the company. At that time there were not many young men among us who had had a training to fit them for that kind of work, or any other clerical work, for the public school had not yet become very effective in our part of the west. The captain of our company had heard that I had taught a school and had seen some of my writing and thought that I could make out the necessary requisitions for supplies and keep the company property accounts, and detailed me for the purpose.

This excused me from guard duties and camp duties, but not from the drills. The captain was very soon furnished with a copy of the Army Regulations and I carefully studied all the forms. When we did not have printed blank forms of requisitions, I ruled the blank form from the form in the Army Regulations. My knowledge of the forms in the Army Regulations soon brought me into notice, so that after a while when the regiment was reorganized, I was promoted to Regimental Commissary Sergeant.

BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK.

A few days after the 10th of August in the midst of our recruiting and drill and noise of the fife and drum, news came to us of the Battle of Wilson's Creek near Springfield, the

death of General Lyon, commander of the Union forces, and of the retreat of our army towards Rolla and St. Louis.

Wilson's Creek was only one hundred miles distant, and now that Generals Price and McCulloch had been successful in a great battle in forcing the retreat of the Federal army, it was currently reported and believed that they would turn their attention to an invasion of Kansas, which they knew was almost defenceless. The retreat of the Union army from Wilson's Creek had the moral effect of a great victory for the Southern forces and their leaders so proclaimed it. Now that the Southern armies had been brilliantly successful in the battles of Bull Run and Wilson's Creek, the leaders of secession seemed encouraged to believe that they would carry everything before them in all future operations. Hundreds of Union families in the southern and southwestern counties of the State, had moved to Springfield for the protection of the Union army while the Southern hosts were concentrating in Southwest Missouri, and when the army retreated these families went along with it to Rolla. They had hurriedly left their homes with a wagon load each of household goods and effects, hoping that the Union army would be successful in the impending struggle, and that they would then be able to return to their homes. Nearly all these families therefore were unprepared to accompany the army in its retreat of 125 miles to Rolla. Many of the heads of these families, husbands, fathers and brothers, were in the volunteer regiments, or in the Union Home Guards, and assisted them on the march and after they arrived at Rolla. In heat and dust and mud they struggled along, suffering many hardships before reaching their destination where the army came to a permanent halt where supplies could be shipped to it by railroad.

The families generally had ox-teams; each wagon was loaded to its full capacity with clothing and household effects, and the teams strung out on the road in the rear of the army, made an impression on the minds of those who saw them, never to be forgotten. A majority of the people in the counties of Southern Missouri and around Springfield, was strongly attached to the Union cause, and after the battle of

Wilson's Creek, many of the Home Guard organizations of those counties, disbanded and the men returned home to look after their families, and while the country was occupied by the Southern forces, kept out of the way of them as well as they could by concealing themselves in the hills and mountains of that region.

These disbanded Home Guards of the same neighborhoods kept in touch with each other after the army retreated, and frequently assisted each other in times of danger by timely warning, when threatened by detachments of mounted secessionists.

There were some secessionists in every neighborhood, and after the Union army was obliged to retreat from Springfield, they were so elated over the victory that they were ready to inform on their Union neighbors on every occasion. The readiness of neighbors to inform on each other, to point out each other to their enemies, led to much bitterness and strife, and sometimes to the most tragical consequences, to retaliation.

THREATENED INVASION OF KANSAS.

In less than a week after the battle of Wilson's Creek, General Price commenced preparations to march with his army of Missouri troops to the Missouri River via eastern Kansas, and endeavored to persuade General McCulloch to accompany him with his corps of Arkansas-Louisiana troops, which moved forward and encamped around Springfield after the retreat of the Federal army. There was, however, some feeling developed between the leaders of the Southern forces on account of rank, and as to who should command the combined forces, and also as to which General's forces had borne the most honorable part in the recent battle, so that General McCulloch declined to march further north with his army, and soon withdrew to northwest Arkansas where part of his Arkansas troops were mustered out on expiration of their terms of service.

General McCulloch's forces were well armed and equipped from the United States Arsenals in Arkansas and Louisiana,

and he characterized Price's army as an undisciplined mob; yet the official reports of casualties in the recent battle, showed that this mob had borne the brunt of the battle.

Through Union men who were coming into Fort Scott from Southwest Missouri every day or so as refugees, we heard of General Price's plans to march with his Missouri army through Kansas to the Missouri river, and towards the latter part of August we looked for his advance to meet our scouting detachments almost any day. At that time Fort Scott was the most southern point in Kansas where any Union troops were stationed, and we felt certain that in a short time we should have to meet the victorious Southern forces from Wilson's Creek, or retire north until we met reinforcements, which would consist of new regiments then organizing north of us. The leading men of Kansas felt that General Price with the prestige of his success at Wilson's Creek, would endeavor to overrun the eastern counties of the new State in his march north, and in order to oppose him as much as possible, General James H. Lane hastened from Lawrence to Mound City and Fort Scott for the purpose of organizing all of the available forces in the State and concentrating them at Fort Scott at once.

There had been much bitterness of feeling for several years between the Free State men of Kansas and the pro-slavery men of Western Missouri on account of the lawless conduct of partisans of both sides of the line, growing out of the Free State troubles prior to the war, and we believed that the secessionists would seize the first opportunity to even up on old scores. In Kansas the season had been unusually favorable to the farmer; the wheat, oat and hay crops had been harvested, and the corn crop was maturing with the promise of an abundant yield, so that there was sufficient incentive for Gen. Price to march his army through Kansas and live off his enemy en route to Kansas City and the Missouri River.

Colonel W. R. Judson of our regiment, the commanding officer at Fort Scott, kept out detachments of cavalry as far in the direction of Springfield as practicable, to observe and

ascertain and report any movements of the Southern forces in our direction to enable us to make as much preparation as possible for defence. One afternoon several citizens came in from Missouri a good deal excited and reported that they had seen a large body of men a mile or so distant on a ridge in the prairie and felt certain that they were the enemy advancing to attack us. This reported advance of the enemy spread quickly through the camp; the prospect of an immediate fight made many cheeks pale; the long roll was at once beat on the snare drum, and all the soldiers at the post called out under arms. In a short time several other men came into town on the same road and reported that they had seen no enemy, or signs of an enemy, but had seen a herd of cattle grazing on the prairie in the locality where the enemy were supposed to have been seen by the first men who had come in and reported.

The reported advance of the enemy was a false alarm; the excitement in camp soon subsided, and the men were directed to return to their quarters, unbelt and take off their cartridge boxes and lay aside their arms and ammunition, to be ready for use at a moment's notice. The incident served to impress upon the officers of the Post the importance of observing great vigilance to guard against a surprise attack by day or by night.

Towards the latter part of August General Lane had the effective men of the Third, Fourth and Fifth regiments Kansas Volunteers, which had been in camps at different points from Wyandotte to Mound City, on the march to reinforce the Sixth Kansas at Fort Scott, to meet the threatened invasion of the Southern forces under General Price. General Lane probably had 2,500 men in all who had been recruited within the last two months, none of whom had seen service except some of the mounted companies which the commanding officer had been sending out on scouting service into Missouri.

ACTION AT DRYWOOD.

In the newspapers there were stirring reports of military operations all over the country; but with few successes set down to the credit of the Union cause, and very little aggres-

siveness shown by our military leaders, particularly in the Department of Missouri. General Lane had hardly completed the concentration of his troops at Fort Scott when the advance of General Price from Springfield was reported by our scouts to be within a day's march of our position. Indeed he had thrown forward a company of mounted men under Captain Reck Johnson who came in sight of town close on the heels of the Union scouts and drove off a herd of eighty head of Government mules grazing on the prairie one and a half miles east of the Post. Part of the herders were captured and part escaped and galloped into town and reported what had happened, and the long roll was again sounded, calling the soldiers out under arms, for it was believed that the main column of the enemy was near at hand, and that we should certainly have a fight.

It was a bright Sunday afternoon about 4 o'clock, September last, and it was so quiet about the Post that no one dreamed the foe was so near at hand and would find us napping and drive off our stock in sight of the troops. We were only four miles from the State line, and we felt certain that when the enemy marched from Springfield, that they would advance upon us from the southeast or east, so that it was a stupid policy of our commanding officer that allowed our stock to graze between us and the enemy, when there was just as good grazing west of us.

This bold movement of the enemy thoroughly aroused our officers to vigilance and to prepare to meet an attack that night or early the next morning, for information from citizens who had talked with some of Captain Johnson's men, was to the effect that General Price's main army with infantry and artillery was coming up and would be in position to attack the next day. That night heavy pickets were sent out a mile or so on all the roads south, east and north, leading into town, for we looked for the enemy to make an effort to surprise us before morning, and determined to be in readiness to receive them.

Later in the day information was brought in by our scouts that General Rains' Division of Price's army, about six

thousand strong, would encamp that night on Drywood Creek, twelve miles southeast of Fort Scott, and await the arrival of the other divisions before making an attack. We had no artillery and our officers highest in command knew that we were not prepared to meet a very determined assault by a superior force of victorious troops well supplied with artillery.

While we had no exact information in regard to General Price's plans, we knew that it would be an easy matter for a large force encamped on Drywood to make a night march and attack us before morning. Colonel William Weir of the Fourth Kansas infantry had arrived with the available men of his regiment from Wyandotte, and General Lane who was also present, sent couriers to commanding officers of the Third and Fifth regiments, to hurry forward with their men, as an attack might be made at any moment. By nine o'clock the next morning General Lane's mounted troops arrived from the counties north of Fort Scott, and he immediately sent them with the mounted companies of the Sixth Kansas out on the Springfield road to find and reconnoiter the position of the enemy, and if possible ascertain his intentions. Citizens coming into the post from different points in Vernon county, brought exciting reports of the movements of the Southern forces, indicating that they certainly would advance and attack us that day. All the infantry were called out and given ammunition and stood in line and put through maneuvers, expecting every moment to be ordered forward to support the cavalry. We heard in the afternoon that our cavalry were engaged with the enemy, and just before sunset received orders to march out to their support. We had just got out of town when we saw the head of the column of cavalry upon the heights east of the post returning from the battle-field, where nearly all the men for the first time faced the enemy in large numbers. When they were passing us going in we saw several wounded who had their heads and arms bandaged, and we also saw that there were several wounded men in the ambulances with the column. We continued our march east on the road on which the cavalry were

returning, supposing that they were closely pursued by the enemy from what we could hear.

General Lane marched us out on the high ridge in the prairie a mile and a half east of town and formed us into a hollow square as if expecting a charge of the enemy every moment.

We had hardly formed in line when it became intensely dark, for a heavy thunder storm was gathering in the northwest which threatened to break upon us in a short time. We stood in line formed in a square probably an hour expecting every moment to hear the rifle fire of the enemy; but instead we heard the distant roar of the thunder. We did not know what information Gen. Lane had in regard to the movements of the enemy; but finding that they did not advance to attack us, he counter-marched us back to the post with orders to abandon the place at once and retire to the Osage River fifteen miles north. We had marched out and counter marched, and in the general excitement had no opportunity to get our suppers, and to add to our discomfort just as we got back to our quarters, the storm broke upon us. It was after ten o'clock that night when we left the post, and the deluging rain, the vivid flashes of lightning, and the loud peals of thunder, were calculated to impress the young soldier that the very elements were at war, and that we were very insignificant in the face of such natural phenomena.

The suddenness in the change of General Lane's determination not to fight, but retreat, made the impression on his command that the enemy were right at hand. In the general excitement we had quite a task in packing our knapsacks and in filling our haversacks with hardtack and bacon, for we were obliged to grope around in the darkness. The march from Fort Scott to the Osage that night through rain and mud probably made a lasting impression on the infantry soldiers who participated in it, for the hardships endured were equal to any in subsequent service in the war. When we marched out nearly all the cavalry were left behind to guard the town and public property, with orders to retire on the approach of

the enemy who it was believed would be in position to make an attack by daylight.

On account of the torrential rain, which made the roads almost impassable for the artillery and baggage trains, the enemy did not advance beyond Drywood Creek where a brisk skirmish had taken place that day without particular advantage to either side. General Lane fully expected the enemy to advance and attack him, for on the arrival of his troops at the Osage he ordered heavy details made from every company to work on the rifle pits half a mile south of the river, and on the construction of a fortified camp on the north bank, which he called Fort Lincoln in honor of the President. A small creek with steep banks, half a mile south of our fortified position, emptied into the Osage a short distance below our camp, and with the rifle pits which we made on the north bank of it, would have been of some advantage to us in a direct attack.

Our position, however, could have been easily turned by the enemy crossing the Osage above or below us, had he contemplated such a movement, and had we been stupid enough to allow him to complete it. Some of our men who had been captured by the secessionists and who had escaped and returned, and several Union citizens who had mingled freely with Price's men, and who afterwards came into our camp, reported that it was current talk among the secessionists that it was his intention to take Fort Scott, but that the night's rain had raised the streams, Big Drywood, Marmaton River and the Osage, so that they would have been too deep to ford by his infantry; besides it would have been impossible to have crossed over them with his artillery, ammunition and baggage trains, the entrances and exits to the fords being down and up steep banks. We kept our cavalry watching the movements of the enemy, and in a few days we ascertained that Price's army was as much inconvenienced by the rain and mud as we were, and was obliged to lay in camp on the east side of Big Drywood two days, waiting for the waters of the streams to recede, and the roads to dry up so as to be in a passable condition. It was also ascertained from Union men

who had been taken and held a day or so by the Southern forces, and who had escaped or were released, and came into our lines, that Price had given up his intention of invading Kansas, but would resume his march at once north to Lexington on the Missouri River.

With his cavalry General Lane endeavored to keep in touch with Price's army after moving north from Drywood, and rarely a day passed without escaping prisoners coming into our camp and advising us of the movements of the enemy. Finding that the Southern army was moving north, General Lane ordered the Sixth Kansas to return and occupy Fort Scott, and took the balance of his command at Fort Lincoln and moved north through the western counties of Missouri, keeping between the Southern forces and Kansas. He did not have any important action with the enemy, but the movement of his command probably had the effect of preventing raiding detachments of the enemy from entering Kansas and committing depredations on the citizens. His useful service in defending Kansas from invasion, was marred by his burning Osceola, the county seat of St. Clair county, which he permitted after entering the town with only slight opposition, the main part of the Southern forces having passed through on the march to Lexington. There was no military necessity for the act; the place had been only temporarily occupied by the secessionists; and Union men regretted that such conduct should be chargeable to our side, for it would naturally lead to retaliation, which it did. There were probably as many Union men in the county as secessionists, and it was not claimed by General Lane that the place was of any strategic importance; but it was a place of some commercial importance, as it was the head of navigation on the Osage River. The General was more of a politician than a military man, and he did not calculate the effect his conduct might have in the future operations of the war; he did not seem to realize that some of the towns of Kansas, might, in retaliation, soon feel the heavy hand of the war laid upon them.

General Price's objective was Lexington and he determined to allow nothing to stand in his way or change his purpose of occupying that place at the earliest practicable moment. He hoped to capture or disperse the Federal forces at Warrensburg under Colonels Peabody and Grover, and then to push on to Lexington and capture that place before the Federal commander could concentrate a force strong enough to effectively oppose him. We heard with profound regret of the seige and fall of Lexington; of the extraordinary and inexcusable mismanagement of the campaign by our commanding Generals, Fremont and Pope in their failure to grasp the situation and send reinforcements to Colonel Mulligan before he was obliged to surrender to a vastly superior force of the enemy. There was no good reason why fifteen thousand men should not have reached Mulligan several days before the surrender, for these troops were within two or three days march of Lexington, and only required the orders of energetic commanders to move them to the relief of their besieged comrades.

General Fremont's dilatory tactics, which permitted the disaster, displeased President Lincoln, and he telegraphed Fremont that he expected him to make movements at once that would be productive of results. With Pope's army in the neighborhood of Chillicothe, Fremont had an army around Jefferson City and Sedalia, of about forty thousand men, and that he should allow Price with perhaps less than one-third of this force to march north from Springfield nearly two hundred miles unopposed, seemed almost incredible to a man of any military sense.

The serious and frequent blunders of the Federal commander, filled the Union men throughout the State with discouragement and despondency, and brought upon them and their families great sufferings and hardships. Finally General Fremont left St. Louis and went to the front and took command in person of his army, and with very little delay, had his five divisions in motion, and as the movement from Sedalia threatened to cut off General Price's retreat from Lexington, he hastily abandoned the place and took up the

march south, taking with him however, the arms, ammunition and other spoils captured from Mulligan.

After a few days he marched leisurely, for he saw that Fremont was not making very strenuous efforts to intercept him or press him very closely on either flank. It was painful to realize how poorly handled was our finely equipped army in the face of the splendid opportunity for it to do something that would entitle it to the lasting gratitude of the Union men of the State and of the country.

General Fremont moved forward with the greatest caution and with a front of nearly forty miles as if he expected at any moment to meet the enemy in great force, whereas he should have known that Price was sixty miles in his front retreating southwest towards Neosho. These elaborate movements of the Federal commander were kept up to a point ten miles southwest of Springfield, to the recent battlefield of Wilson's Creek, where the gallant General Lyon fell, without the enemy disputing the Federal advance by any general action.

Fremont's Body Guard, however, under Majors Zagoni and White, dashed into Springfield and attacked a Southern force of a thousand to fifteen hundred men, which had been left there and drove it out after sustaining a loss of twenty killed, and after inflicting perhaps an equal loss on the enemy. A great deal was printed in the newspapers about Zagoni's charge; but it did not accomplish anything of permanent value to the Union cause, for the reason that it was made without military judgment as to the results to be achieved. When General Fremont's different divisions arrived at Springfield and vicinity, an order came from the War Department relieving him and placing General David Hunter in command of the troops, with instructions to retire the army to Sedalia and Rolla, except General Lane's Brigade which was to return to Kansas to guard the border from enemy incursions. After General Fremont's elaborate movements had forced the Southern forces out of the State, to relive him and retire the army 125 to 150 miles, seemed to the friends of the Govern-

ment the very climax of blunders on our side, and added cruel sufferings to the Unionists in all the territory yielded up.

A good many Union men who had been obliged to leave their families in Southern and Southwest Missouri and go to Rolla when the army retreated to that point after the battle of Wilson's Creek, returned to Springfield with General Fremont, only to be disappointed in joining their families, or in leaving them again after a short visit. They could not understand the policy of the Government in bringing a great army out there and then ordering a retreat of 150 miles without fighting a battle, a retreat too, which meant the loss of prestige when the time came for another advance to recover the lost territory.

The people had raised good crops in that section, and the army could easily have maintained itself at Springfield and in Southwest Missouri, and it could have controlled the extensive lead mines at Granby in Newton county, which were then furnishing lead for the Confederacy for use in small arms ammunition.

General Price kept himself informed of the movements of the Federal army so that the Federal rear guard had left Springfield only a few hours when General McCulloch's cavalry from Cross Hollow, Arkansas, entered the town in pursuit. At the same time General Price was moving north through Mt. Vernon to the Osage and Missouri Rivers, for the purpose of giving the secessionists of north and central Missouri an opportunity of joining his standard.

Lane's Brigade to which our regiment belonged, which had become a part of Fremont's army in the general advance, arrived at Fort Scott about the 10th of November, with many of his soldiers down with the measles which had broken out among the troops while they were encamped around Springfield. The disease spread among the troops and citizens around Fort Scott that winter with many fatalities and resulting sequelae, filling the hospitals and private houses with patients.

General Lane's troops were gradually distributed from Ft. Scott to points along the State Line to Kansas City for

the protection of eastern Kansas, for after the withdrawal of Fremont's army from Springfield, the country north of that point to the Missouri River was soon filled with bands of secessionists recruiting and collecting supplies for the army under Gen. Price. After the departure of General Lane's troops, except the sick in the hospitals at Fort Scott, the Sixth Kansas was left to garrison the Post, which was then the extreme southern position held by our army in Kansas that winter. Our position was so isolated that it was a perilous one, but by vigilance and active scouting, we held it until a new Department commander, General Henry W. Halleck, was appointed, and aggressive operations ordered.

On the retirement of the Federal army from Springfield, General Price immediately marched his forces to Osceola on the Osage, and we heard with the intention of making that place his winter headquarters, and of conducting operations from that place to the Missouri River and into Kansas. His position at Osceola soon became untenable, for General Pope initiated an active aggressive campaign from Sedalia and Otterville that caused him to retire to Springfield where the Southern forces were reorganized and preparations made to meet a strong Federal advance from Rolla under General Curtis.

The tide of Union success was gradually returning and the secessionists saw the Federal advances from Rolla and Sedalia like an irresistible avalanche, would soon drive the Southern forces from the State. The Federal forces were better prepared for a winter campaign than the secessionists, and there was no halt in active aggressive operations after General Halleck took command of the department. In his efforts to check the Federal advance, General Price wrote to General McCulloch to assist him with his corps; but the Texas General replied that his troops from Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas, were not prepared to endure the rigorous climate of Missouri.

When the Government commenced to exert its might and to roll back the wave of secession, never to return, the Unionists rapidly returned to their homes to rehabilitate them after many sufferings and hardships during their enforced exile.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"The New Journalism in Missouri" is more than a study in newspapers, although its value to the editor historically inclined will be that feature. Dr. Stevens has really produced here a series of memoirs. The compilation has the tang of real men,—red-blooded leaders. No one can read this series without being interested, and every journalist will find it filled with news and tips. The average citizen will not only get a peep behind the scenes of the big dailies but will be surprised to learn the prominence of Missouri in the field of journalism.

Those who are interested in the Missouri-Kansas troubles will find Miss Herklotz' contribution "Jayhawkers in Missouri" of value. This compilation will be reproduced serially in the *Review*. The author has attempted to set forth factual statements rather than to embellish preconceived convictions. Much that is well known is interwoven with much that is not familiar to the majority. The subject although interesting has many pitfalls for the unwary, especially for the partisan. The author has recognized her opportunity and her danger. This has resulted in imposing continual restraint, but in such work conservatism rather than enthusiasm has merit.

The appearance in the *Review* of Miss Herklotz' article is significant. It marks the further widening of interest in Missouri history and in the field of service of The State Historical Society of Missouri. The State Teachers Colleges at Kirksville and Warrensburg, under the inspiration of Professors E. M. Violette and C. H. McClure, have been sending out scores of teachers filled with enthusiasm and trained to teach Missouri history in the schools of the State. Many of these teachers have later done graduate work in Missouri history. The University of Missouri, under the guidance of Professor Jonas Viles, has for twenty years been giving both undergraduate and graduate courses in Missouri history with

far reaching results. Washington University has recently entered the field under the direction of Professor Thomas M. Marshall. Important results are already appearing from this great work which is gradually embracing the county and city schools, colleges and universities. State history as a subject in grades and high school, as a graduate study in colleges and universities, has been found worthwhile. The effects of this work will be increasingly marked on the people of Missouri as it reaches a larger and larger portion of the population.

One finds Dr. Bek's *Followers of Duden* more interesting and instructive each number. These articles make plain how little we really know of our history of less than a century past. All have heard of Hermann, Missouri, famed for its quaint customs and fine wines, but few have appreciated the great difficulties of those pioneers in producing a grape that was adaptable to Missouri soil and profitable for commerce. "All 'Dutch' are Republicans," is a remark frequently heard in political campaigns. How strange to learn that the majority of German settlers in Missouri were followers of Thomas Jefferson and voted the Democrat ticket in ante-bellum days. Missouri river bottom land at $1.25 an acre and American settlers selling out when the price of an improved 160-acre farm rose to $1,200! Think of this in Missouri only eighty years ago.

MEANING OF THE WORD "MISSOURI"

In the January, 1923, issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* (pages 231f) was reprinted from the *Kansas City Star* a short article on "The Real Meaning of the Word 'Missouri'." The original article had appeared in the *Boonville Democrat* of October 22, 1897, at the time Colonel William F. Switzler was the editor. Copy of the *Democrat* clipping was sent to Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C., and request was made for his comments. Dr. Fewkes' reply, which is probably the final word on this subject, is here presented:

"The article in the *Boonville, (Mo.) Democrat* is substantially correct. It errs in saying that the name signifies '*wooden*' canoe, or "log" canoe. Marquette applied it to a village and not to the river. The form used on his map is 8emess8rit. The part of the name that signifies 'canoe' is -8r-, usually transcribed from this French spelling by -our-, which appears dialectically elsewhere as *-on-*, and *-ul-*, *ula*, and *-ool-*, all meaning 'canoe.' It is just possible that the final -i-t, is a shortened form of the common Algonquian word for village *o-tan*; in which the *o* is a pronoun. The initial 8e-is pronounced, and the qualifying stem is -mess- meaning 'large, great.' The whole would then signify 'The town of the large canoes.' In Margry the ending is, indeed, -ita."

POLK COUNTY HAS PRODUCED NOTED WRITERS.

From *The Bolivar (Mo.) Herald*, March 1, 1923.

The Herald wishes to call the attention of its readers to the fact that the author, Clyde Edwin Tuck is a native of Polk county, now living in Jefferson City as state director of publicity. Old files of the Herald contain a number of his first verses, written in early boyhood. He has since become perhaps the most famous poet Missouri has ever produced, with the exceptions of Eugene Field and Sara Teasdale. His later poetry has been principally of a religious nature, each poem he now writes being contributed to the religious publications of all denominations in the United States and Canada, thus reaching millions of readers. Only a few other living poets are said to command larger audiences. He shares honors with Miss Zoe Akins, also a native of this county, now residing in St. Louis. She received the Pulitzer prize of $1,000 last year for the best play written in America in 1921, and her latest play is making a great hit in New York. Her income as a playwright is said to be enormous. She is a daughter of Thomas J. Akins of Humansville.

William H. Hamby, born near Fair Play, now of San Diego, Cal., has become one of the country's leading fiction writers. Besides its record in literature, Polk county has produced a number of noted editors and preachers. Two of the former are R. K. Maiden of the Word and Way of Kansas City, and George B. Winton of the St. Louis Christian Advocate.

A number of other former citizens of Polk county might be mentioned who have won prominence in various lines of endeavor, the most conspicuous being Secretary of State Charles U. Becker. Becker lived at Wishart and Bolivar for many years, but was born in Franklin county.

IS THIS AN ISOLATED CASE?

On invitation of a progressive banker in ..... county, Missouri, an auto drive was taken last month to a 192-acre farm. The farm had been foreclosed under deed of trust, against the banker's advice and wishes, but in pursuance of the owner's request. The mortgage was not excessive and the interest rate reasonable. Located only five miles from a prosperous and growing city in central Missouri, it was easily accessible on a good road. Part of the land was badly worn but all was finely adapted for dairying purposes. Several flowing springs, a good well, a spring-fed creek, a gravel bed, plenty of good timber, excellent pasture, and a few acres of bottom—these were its natural assets. The fences and barns had once been good but showed the same neglect as the land. A beautiful but unkept yard with several forest giants and evergreens, an excellent, small new country house, a new garage on concrete foundation, and a large pile of tin cans and discarded auto casings, made up the home environment, taste and expense.

Knowing the history of the farm, I was at a loss to understand the owner's economic failure. His house showed commendatory pride in his family, his garage showed pride in his auto, his yard, land, barns and fences showed absolute lack of pride in his farm, and his rubbish pile showed more than carelessness in financial success.

On entering the house, one was astonished at its unclean condition, just as the interior of the barn revealed lack of any care or pride. But the real revelation was a slip of paper on the window sill in the kitchen. It was a duplicate grocery bill for a purchase made in town on November 9, 1922. These were the articles on that slip of paper:

Butter No. 2	$0.75
Bacon	.90
Beans	.50
Flour	1.00
B. Powder	.25
C. Berries	.20

Sugar	$0.5(
Condensed Milk	.3
Cabbage	.3(
Onions	.1(
Pickles	.3
Tomatoes	.3
Coffee No. 3	1.0
Potatoes	.3(
	$6.9(

Note:—The owner moved to town and stayed two months He now owns (?) an adjoining farm of 15 acres, a two-room shack, and an auto. He still lacks a cow and a garden.

CORRECTION

The following letter from Mr. Louis T. Golding, edito of the *St. Joseph News-Press*, has been received under date o March 7, 1923:

The last number of the Historical Review for January i very interesting, particularly the article about the oldest news papers in Missouri. However, I notice that on page 180 at line 29 and 30, the writer has accredited to C. D. Morris the editorshi of the *St. Joseph News-Press;* this, of course should be the *St Joseph Gazette.*

A VALUABLE LETTER

This letter from Miss Mary Alicia Owen of St. Joseph who has long been a member of The State Historical Society together with the accompanying manuscript is of unusua interest to all readers of history.

"I am sending *The Missouri Historical Review* what I con sider a treasure. Judge John M. Stewart gave it to me after th death of his brother-in-law, Daniel Sullivan, who had been secre tary of a temporary association which was intended to call to gether the old settlers of Missouri during 'Fair Week' of th 'Buchanan County Agricultural Fair' of September, 1875."

White Hall Cottage, Aug. 16th, '75.

Danl. Sullivan, Esq.,
Sec. "Old Settlers Reunion,"
St. Joseph.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 31st, ult., read and contents noted:—In reply to your invitation requesting my presence at the "Old Settlers Reunion," permit me to say: Owing to the absence of my son Andrew L. Pope from home who is now on a visit to the State of Texas, I am compelled to decline the distinguished favor extended me by the officers of the St. Joseph "Industrial Association." I regret this from the fact of the real pleasure it would afford me of uniting once more, in this life, with the men and women of "The Olden Time," in rehearsing the history of the "Golden past" as also to enjoy the happiness that necessarily follows the association of the past with the present. But as it is impossible for me to be there, still if I can add anything to the interest of the "Reunion" by giving you a few incidents of my chequered life, I certainly will contribute at least that much.

In the summer of 1772 my father, Andrew Lar, my mother, Frances Lar, together with sixty other families left Rockingham County, Va., in pursuit of homes in the wilds of Kentucky. They landed in the latter state in the month of October following and settled near what is now known as "Crab Orchard." On the 12th day of March, 1773, I was born. Soon after the arival of this small colony in Kentucky, they concluded to divide equally. Whereupon thirty families under the leadership of Danl Boone crossed the Kentucky River at Boonesboro and traveled in a southerly direction towards what is now known as Frankfort. The remaining thirty families under the leadership of James Scaggs remained on the south side of Kentucky River but finally moved towards Lexington where we again joined Boone and his company. The Indians were not very troublesome till about four years after our arrival in Kentucky. About that time they began to show hostile spirit, which compelled the settlers to concentrate their forces and "fort up" for defense. But to be brief, for fifteen or sixteen years of my life I saw little else save fighting the Indians, hence you may imagine my life was somewhat monotonous. The Indians being at last subdued, the forts were measureably vacated and strong neighborhoods formed. In reply to your question as to what I know of Abraham Lincoln, I have to say: Abraham Lincoln, Sr., and family constituted a part of the company that moved from Virginia at the time my father left there, and his farm in Kentucky (or what was then called farm) was contiguous to my father's. I have been in his house *very many times*, and I was about sixteen or eighteen years old when Abraham Lincoln,

Jr., was born. I have often times nursed the dead President which in itself however was not then, nor is it now anything *extraordinary* for he was simply a baby, and a terribly ugly one at that. When I was eighteen years old I was married to John Brady who lived only eighteen months after our marriage. I remained a widow eighteen months, and was again married to Thomas Pope with whom I lived upwards of sixty years. Seventy-five years of my life I lived in Kentucky. My constitution, however, not being in the least impaired by age. My husband concluded that he would move to Missouri, whereupon the necessary preparation being made we started and landed in Holt County, Missouri, near Mound City. Two years thereafter my husband died. I continued to live in Holt County till my "Baby" Andrew L. Pope came for me. I say Baby from the fact that he is my last child and he now is in his fifty-sixth year. I have had ten children, seven boys and three girls,—between fifty and sixty grandchildren and four or five great grandchildren, with several great-great-grandchildren. For an old lady I am said to be quite active. I have *never had occasion* to use spectacles, although I have had several pairs, still I can see as well, or better today with the eyes God gave me, than I can with artificial appliances. I can knit now three pairs of socks per week, and up to three years ago, could spin twelve hanks of yarn per day, and could weave eight yards of six hundred flax linnen. Since I have been at my son's Andrew L. Pope, I have walked one-half mile and back without stopping. My health is good and my appetite fine, and if I live would like to go to the Centennial next year. In brief I don't feel very old, and like to talk of the past very much. I had nearly forgotten to say that I am the fifth person that united with the reformation under the preaching of William Stearman, we were then as "*Stearmanites*" which soon changed into "*Campbellites.*" Perhaps it would not be amiss for me to recapitulate a little, by adding that I am the second girl born in Kentucky the first being Lavina Whitley and who was afterwards Mrs. McKinney and who died at Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, in the year 1873. The first white male born in Kentucky was Enoch Boone who died in Meade County, Kentucky, near the mouth of Otter Creek about the year 1867 or 1868. I have thus far given you a short summary of my life.

Hoping it may meet your approval, I remain,

Elizabeth Pope.

Please acknowledge the receipt of this.

Note: It is difficult to ascertain with certainty the birth of the first white child in Kentucky. In Collins *History of Kentucky* an authentic work, Harrodsburg, settled June 16, 1774, is given

as the first white American settlement, but the author states that the first visits that gave promise of return and settlement were those of 1773. On page 519 in volume II of Collins history, a list of fifty-four settlers is given together with the following statement: "Thus there is cumulative testimony—from contemporary letters or private journals of the earliest settlers, attested and, amplified by scores of depositions—that the first habitable cabins by white Americans in what is now Kentucky, were built at Harrodstown (now Harrodsburg), immediately after the town was laid off into lots on June 16, 1774."

In volume I, p. 512, Collins says that several persons assured him that Mrs. Levisa (not Lavina) McKinney, daughter of Col. Wm. Whitley was the first white child born in Kentucky. It is believed that Levisa Whitley was born February 25, 1776, possibly a year later, and died February 14, 1853. Colonel Daniel Garrard, one of the early born in Kentucky, claimed that Levisa Whitley was the third child born in Kentucky. On page 513 in Volume I, Collins says that Enoch Boone was born November 16, 1777, and died February 8, 1862. "Many persons believed him to be the first child born in Kentucky, and yet it is not improbable that fifteen were born earlier."—The Editor.

PEYTON A. PARKS

By W. M. Godwin.

At the birth of Peyton A. Parks, August 22, 1855, his parents, James and Mary J. (Allen) Parks, lived on a farm in Henry county, Missouri. The family moved to Clinton in 1862 where he lived until his death May 26, 1922.

Mr. Parks was the first graduate of Clinton high school in 1876. For a number of years he was principal of the Montrose school. He read law when not in the schoolroom, spent one year in Chicago Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1882.

September 21, 1882, he married Miss Mary E. Gathright, who had been one of his assistants in the Montrose school. They have one son, James A. Parks.

When admitted to the bar, Peyton began the practice of law with his father, the latter retiring in 1900. James A. Parks was taken into the firm of Parks & Son in 1906, which partnership ceased in January, 1922, only because of the ill health of the senior member.

Though active in politics, Mr. Parks held only the office of school commissioner while he was teaching, and was a member of the State Tax Commission with the late Judge William M. Williams, being appointed by Governor Dockery, his warm personal friend. For eighteen years he was chairman of the Henry County Democratic Committee.

In 1917 he joined the Baptist church and in October of that year he began teaching a Sunday school class, which grew from twenty members to more than one hundred regular attendants, often there being more than two hundred in the class. His failing health compelled him to give up this work in May, 1921. He considered his work in Sunday school the crowning achievement of his life.

Among his outstanding characteristics were loyalty to his friends, courtesy, tact, untiring industry, open-handed charity, and fidelity to his clients.

THE ADAIR COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Interest in local history in Missouri has passed the academic stage. The recent celebration of Clay County's Centennial and the publication of the Clay County Centennial Souvenir merited the attention paid it in the last *Review*. In this issue the work of The Adair County Historical Society is forcefully presented in the reports of officers and committees given at the Sixth Annual Meeting of that organization on February 22, 1923. In membership that Society has enrolled 250 persons. It has for years developed a local museum of value, located in the State Teachers College at Kirksville. In a few weeks the Society will avail itself of fireproof quarters for its museum and library in the new John R. Kirk Auditorium Building. The Historical Committee is planning this year to collect all the historical data available relating to the educational institutions, lodges, clubs, pioneers, and historic trees of Adair county. The Committee on Historical Sites recommends that the Society mark this year with markers or monuments the site of the original building of the Kirksville State Normal School, the site of the first courthouse of Adair

county, and the site of the home of Jesse Kirk, after whom the town of Kirksville was named. This Committee also reported that the Ann Haynes Chapter of the D. A. R. is planning this summer to mark the two Indian forts in Adair county and the site of the battle that occurred in 1829 between the Indians and the first settlers in Adair county. Although the Society has annual dues of only one dollar, and in case husband and wife both belong one fee pays for the two, the organization is in good financial condition and has invested $162.85 in its Historical Marker and Monument Fund.

The Adair County Historical Society has become a permanent part of the cultural life of Adair county. It holds an annual meeting at Kirksville to which is invited some eminent Missourian associated with the development of Missouri history. The address this year was delivered by Honorable Perry S. Rader, of Jefferson City. A dinner is given at the annual meeting and the attendance is usually over two hundred. The president of the Society is Mr. V. J. Howell, the vice-president, Mr. E. E. Swain, and the secretary-treasurer, Professor E. M. Violette.

The marked success of the Adair County Historical Society seems to lie in the ability and zeal of its founder, Professor E. M. Violette, the enlightened co-operation and interest of the citizens of Adair county, and the wisdom and willingness of the members in assuming responsibilities and sharing in the work. The work of the Adair County Historical Society will eventually be an inspiration to similar organizations in Missouri. Its influence will reach beyond its membership. It has proven the possibilities of its field. The foundations of permanent success have been well laid, a structure of lasting value is now being built. Missouri today is following in the historic paths of the best in the East and is improving wherever there is opportunity. The value, interest, and permanent worth of local history in the State have passed the academic stage. We are at the threshold of important developments.

HUGH B. TODD

By Mrs. D. C. Payne, Little Falls, New Jersey.

Hugh B. Todd was born in Spottsylvania county, Virginia, June 3, 1809, and received his early schooling in that grand old dominion. He was descended on both sides from distinguished English and Scotch families. His maternal grandfather, General Winslow of the British army, and also his grandfather, Richard Todd, were among the early settlers of Virginia. His father, William Todd, was an Episcopal clergyman and he was reared in that faith.

After teaching two years in his native state we find Hugh Blain Todd organizing his first boarding school for girls in Fayette county, Kentucky, and for years he was identified with the educational life of that commonwealth, organizing and conducting schools with great success and popularity. His fame had spread to other states and he was called to Missouri, assuming charge at Camden Point and Platte City, engaging with his usual ardor in the vocation that he loved until the outbreak of the war between the states. He cast his lot with the South, received a commission from General Price, and served until released on account of failing health. I have heard men who know Missouri quite thoroughly say that Hugh B. Todd had done more for the girls of Missouri than any man who had ever entered the state. Green country girls would emerge from his school ladies of refinement and social charm.

Mr. Todd married Elizabeth Dickinson in Virginia, November 29, 1826. She was an inspiration and support in all his endeavors and achievements. They had four children: Mrs. William Falconer, Missouri; Mrs. William Lipscomb, Tennessee; Mr. Rufus and Mr. Frank Todd. None survive now but Mr. Frank Todd of Kansas City, Missouri, but there are grandchildren and great-grandchildren who feel a pride in emulating so worthy a sire. Mr. Todd was a faithful member of the I. O. O. F. After his retirement from Confederate service Professor Todd's school labors were confined mostly

to Tennessee. Elizabeth Dickinson Todd died in 1860 in Missouri. Mr. Todd felt that it gave a man an added dignity and influence to preside over a home. He found a charming companion in Kate Harlan of Sumner county, Tennessee, but she was not long spared to grace his home. They had one child, who is now Mrs. James Malone of Gallatin, Tennessee. Professor Todd eventually retired to his beautiful home in Franklin, Tennessee, and there on June 10, 1887, closed a life that had been honorably and nobly spent. He was survived by a third wife, Harriet Garth, and one son.

Plan Missouri Club In Chicago.

From *The Chicago Daily News*, January 9, 1923.

The "Show Me" boys, now residents of Chicago, are going to "show up" the Hoosier boys, Hawkeye boys, Badger boys and natives of other states now residing in Chicago.

Among Chicago's prominent commercial and professional men are former Missourians who have resided here for a number of years. There are large numbers of them scattered through the city but at no time has there been a Missouri club of Chicago. Now steps to perfect such society are well under way and the leaders in the movement declare the Missouri boys are going to outdo their brothers from rival states.

"There are hundreds of boys from Missouri now residing and in business in Chicago," said E. C. Hart, president of the Fidelity Trust and Savings bank, Wilson Avenue and Broadway. "And so many of them have been urging that we form a Missouri club or society that after talking the matter over seriously with a number of them we have decided to go ahead."

All natives of Missouri are asked to communicate with Mr. Hart at the Fidelity Trust and Savings bank.

Trip To 'Frisco By "Pony Express."

From *The Sedalia Democrat*, February 11, 1923.

Memories of the early 60's when transcontinental trains were unknown and the telegraph was still an experiment will be revived some time this summer when one more trip will be made from St. Joseph to San Francisco by the Pony Express. The trip will be a part of a celebration in memory of Samuel Clemens, "Mark Twain," who wrote "Roughing It" more than a half century ago.

St. Joseph was the eastern terminus of the Pony Express. The Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad, the only line west of the Mississippi, ended here. From St. Joseph the riders on their hardy little ponies began the long ride through more than 2,000 miles of the wildest country to the Pacific Coast.

Now the pony will travel over paved streets and well-kept roads over which rubber-tired automobiles pass, not even a dream at the time when the first express rider spurred his mount through the soft gumbo of the Kansas bottoms, before climbing the bluffs near Athena, Kansas, on the trip through the West.

This living line of horses and men was the only means of communication between the East and the West. the only way to carry news of the outside world to the miners of the Sacremento gold fields. It will live in history as one of the accomplishments of a sturdy race of pioneers, such as the West brought forth.

Just one trip, of eight days and nights, will be repeated as a memorial to those veterans of the saddle, those Missourians and other men of the West of sixty years ago, who carried the mail, braving countless dangers, fighting battles with Indian tribes, fording swollen streams, but nevertheless carrying the mail through to the coast.

Headquarters have been established at Reno, Nevada, and every western state on the old route has agreed to assist in the revival.

WEBSTER DAVIS

By Rollin J. Britton.

From the *Gallatin North Missourian*, March 15, 1923.

Whether Daniel J. Davis came from Wales in boyhood or manhood matters not. His was a hearty welcome from the Welsh settlers in Cambria county, Pennsylvania. Cambria was the ancient name of Wales and it had a pleasant sound to the immigrant. In Ebensburg, the county seat, he made his home and married Elizabeth Evans, a girl born in America of Welsh parents. There were four sons born to this union, two of whom were born in Ebensburg. The eldest saw the light of day on June 1, 1862, and was named Webster, after the great statesman and orator, and no doubt that name was a life inspiration to him who bore it. When Webster Davis was five years old, and his brother, Walter M. Davis, was five months old, in January, 1868, Daniel J. Davis packed up his

shoemaker tools and moved them and his family to Chillicothe, Livingston county, Missouri, where he operated a shoe shop for five years, and where Webster attended the public schools till he was eleven years old. Then the family, in 1873, moved to Gallatin, Daviess county, Missouri, where the Davis shoe shop became a fixture for fourteen years, and where Webster completed the course in the public school, working in his father's shop outside of school hours. In school, the power of declamation in Webster soon ripened into oratory. The community became interested in him as an earnest student of great promise. Early he became a Fourth of July orator of renown. Pattonsburg, then known as Elm Flat, was one of the first towns to hear his glorious song of freedom. His first real job came when Captain John Ballinger made him his deputy in the Gallatin postoffice. The loyalty of these two to one another lasted so long as they lived. Most of his meager salary went to help support the family,but a little was saved and ambition to become a lawyer seized him. He had but little time for study and no books. So William C. Gillihan converted the back room of the office of Gillihan & Brosius into a bedroom for Webster Davis, where he might sleep, and there he commenced reading law, under the guidance of William C. Gillihan and Thompson Brosius, thus utilizing all of his available time.

Soon this student became convinced that his education was deficient. With enough money to pay his railroad fare and to buy necessary books, Webster Davis traveled to the University of Lake Forest, Illinois, where he spent the school year of 1883-84 in school, maintaining himself by working nights. Then he returned to Gallatin and the following year he and his brother Walter were in Lawrence, Kansas. Webster attending the University law school, working a part of the time, while Walter drove a grocer's wagon. In 1886 Webster was admitted to the bar. Shortly after admission he located at Garden City, Kansas, where Captain John Ballinger had already gone and where real estate was then moving with sufficient alacrity to enable Webster Davis to make his first easy money. With the money he made in the

short time he was at Garden City, he started for Ann Arbor, Mich., to enter the University law school and where in 1887 he won his LL. B. degree, and was elected class orator.

From Ann Arbor, Webster Davis traveled back to the old home to visit his parents and brothers, and while in Gallatin, Colonel William T. Sullivan prevailed upon him to become his partner in the practice of the law. Col. Sullivan was a lawyer without a practice. He and Jehiel T. Day owned and published the *North Missourian*, and Sullivan devoted his time to playing politics and writing partisan editorials. He was Irish, one of ten brothers, and the only Republican in the family. He was also an ordained preacher in the Primitive (Hardshell) Baptist church and believed absolutely in fore-ordination and the ultimate triumph of the Republican party. The firm of Sullivan & Davis was a great help in winning the fight for local option in Daviess county and was active in politics, but it did no law business, and so Davis withdrew from the firm before it was a year old. William C. Gillihan arranged a meeting between Davis and Loren G. Rowell, a lawyer who had moved from Gallatin to Kansas City some years before, and out of this meeting was formed the ostensible partnership of Rowell & Davis, with offices in the New Nelson Building. In reality, Webster Davis went to work for Loren G. Rowell at a salary of fifty dollars per month. This was toward the close of 1887. This arrangement lasted only long enough to awaken the politicians of Kansas City to the fact that a great orator was in their midst. Thereupon Major Ross Griffin, surveyor of customs of Kansas City for the Western District of Missouri and Kansas, made Webster Davis his deputy in 1888, which relationship lasted for almost four years, during which time oratory was in much demand. Major William Warner, beloved of the G. A. R., became one of the staunch friends of Webster Davis at this time, and in 1892 the Warner forces made Webster Davis the Republican nominee for Congress in the 5th Missouri district. The Democratic majority was too great to overcome and Davis was defeated at the polls. In 1894 Webster Davis was the Republican nominee for mayor of Kansas City. He also

received the indorsement of the A. P. A. and was elected by seven thousand majority. He gave Kansas City a great administration during the ensuing two years. The park and boulevard system of Kansas City was started at that time. The price of gas was forced down from $1.60 to $1.00 per 1,000 feet, and the competition that Davis encouraged further reduced it to 50 cents. Mayor Davis made Henry C. McDougal, formerly of Gallatin, Missouri, city counselor, and McDougal, at the head of the legal department, conducted the city's case in the acquisition by the city of its water plant from the corporation of eastern capitalists then owning it. The municipal ownership of this plant has always been considered of great value to Kansas City.

Among the closest friends of Webster Davis at that time were Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey I. Filley, of St. Louis, Filley being then at the height of his power in Missouri politics. He was national committeeman and also chairman of the State Republican Committee. He made Webster Davis a candidate for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1896. The convention was held at Springfield. Davis came within three votes of being nominated, but was defeated by Robert E. Lewis of Clinton, Mo. In the final vote the St. Louis delegates cast their votes for Lewis, all save Chauncey I. Filley, who cast his vote for Webster Davis. Lewis was defeated at the polls by Lon V. Stephens and is now United States District Judge for Colorado. Chauncey I. Filley, at the age of ninety-four years, still resides in St. Louis. The life story of Filley will form one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the west.

From his defeat at Springfield, Webster Davis went to Ohio, to campaign that state for William McKinley, then running for the presidency. A young newspaper man from Marion, Ohio, by the name of Warren G. Harding, spent a part of the time in that campaign with Webster Davis. McKinley found pleasure in the wonderful oratory of Webster Davis, and with victory came a desire to have Webster near him. An opportunity came in the formation of his cabinet. President McKinley desired very much to make Cornelius

Bliss of New York, secretary of the interior. Mr. Bliss did not care for the office and his family did not wish to live in Washington, but it was agreed that he would accept the appointment with the understanding that Webster Davis would be made one of the assistants, and would in effect be acting secretary. Cornelius Bliss did not move his family from New York and only spent a part of each week in Washington. This plan was carried out for a year. Then Cornelius Bliss resigned with the understanding that Webster Davis was to be appointed the secretary of the interior and this appointment would no doubt have followed, had not a ghost risen out of the past.

Prior to the election of President McKinley, a brother-in-law of his had become involved in a serious trouble. William McKinley, for his wife's sake, made the fight of his life to save her brother. He spent all that he had and $125,000 more. It was then that Mark Hanna and some other rich men came to his rescue and paid the $125,000. The largest single contribution to that fund was probably made by Ethan Allen Hitchcock of St. Louis who perhaps gave $50,000. Mr. Hitchcock was a cultured gentleman as well as a rich one, and it was a very proper thing to make him Ambassador to Russia. However, when his family reached Russia they became homesick. The morning the Washington papers announced the resignation of Cornelius Bliss from the cabinet, Mrs. Ethan Allen Hitchcock chanced to reach Washington. With a paper in her hands, she sought out President McKinley and implored him to arrange matters so that her husband might resign the Ambassadorship, and enter the cabinet as secretary of the interior. It was a trying ordeal for the president, but Ethan Allen Hitchcock became secretary of the interior and Webster Davis continued as an assistant two years longer. But that event worked the culmination of the political career of Webster Davis. Just what would have followed had he succeeded to the place in the cabinet is idle speculation. What did follow has been commented on much.

On December 6, 1899, Webster Davis sailed from New York aboard the St. Paul for Southampton, and after visiting

London, he sailed for Cape Town, South Africa, from which point he later visited the Boer republic and its president, Paul Kruger, and became infatuated with the Boer cause, came back to America, resigned his office, wrote a book entitled "John Bull's Crime," and sought to have the government of the United States intervene in this war between England and the Boers, then in progress. Failing in this he appeared at the Republican National Convention and sought to inject a plank into the platform that would mean recognition of this Boer republic and intervention. The convention listened and then turned him down. Next he appeared before the National Democratic Convention in Kansas City on July 4, 1900, and sought the help of the Democracy. He stirred the convention with a mighty oration, but was turned down. He believed that William Jennings Bryan would be friendly to the Boer cause if elected to the presidency and that day he joined forces with Bryan for the campaign. They remained close friends the rest of Davis' life, and grew to resemble each other so much that most people could not tell them apart. At any rate, Webster Davis was frequently addressed as Mr. Bryan. Webster was a Democrat for one campaign only. He was a staunch Republican the rest of his life. The enemies of Davis charged that Davis had been subsidized by Oom Paul Kruger, but Davis assured the world and his old neighbors at Gallatin that he had received naught for espousing the Boer cause. In the years since 1900 Webster Davis has been a lawyer in Seattle, in Los Angeles and in Chicago. For a brief spell he owned a newspaper at Mendota, Illinois. He campaigned Illinois for the prohibition cause. He campaigned several states for Warren G. Harding. He filled about two hundred chautauqua and lyceum lecture dates during the past year. He never married. His father and mother lived with him in Kansas City and Washington, and when the old father died he was laid to rest in Elmwood cemetery in Kansas City. The mother was spared to her beloved Webster till about two years ago. She died in Washington where Webster took her

for special medical attention. She, too, was laid to rest in Elmwood by the side of the old shoemaker.

Inflammation of the heart drove him from the lyceum circuit to Grace hospital, where he died on February 22, 1923. The mayor and living ex-mayors of Kansas City and a host of old-time friends laid him beside the loved father and mother in Elmwood. Two of the active pallbearers were from Gallatin, Robert G. Yates and Dr. W. Eugene King, while Robt. G. Sheets and George Tuggle interviewed some old friends, and a floral offering for Gallatin was the result.

Webster Davis was of deep religious convictions, but not affiliated with any church. Had he entered the ministry he would have become one of greatest pulpit orators on earth. Of the great orations he delivered, perhaps those stand out best that were delivered at Arlington Heights, at Gettysburg, and before the National Conventions, but he was never more pleased than when he stood before the Gallatin Chautauqua last Ausust and poured out his soul to his old friends and neighbors of long ago. And how those old friends did happily wipe the tears away as he told them again of the past and of his old father and mother and of the things that made for home in the good old town!

Of the original family, only two brothers survive: Walter M. Davis, of Phoenix, Ariz., and Harry Davis. The estate left by Webster Davis amounted to $1,800.00. It was left by the terms of the will to his niece, Dorothy, sole child of his brother, Harry.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXT BOOKS

COMPILED BY J. WILLARD RIDINGS

FLORIDA AS MARK TWAIN RECALLED IT

From Lincoln *Democrat*, March 24, 1922; reprinted from Mark Twain's Autobiography in *Harper's Magazine*.

I was born the 30th of November, 1835, in the almost invisible village of Florida, Monroe county, Missouri. I suppose Florida had less than three hundred inhabitants. It had two streets, each a couple of hundred yards long; the rest of the avenues were lanes, with rail fences on either side. Both the streets and the lanes were paved with mud, in wet times, deep dust, in dry.

Most of the houses were of logs—all of them indeed, except three or four; these latter were frame ones. There were none of brick and none of stone. There was a log church, with a puncheon floor and slab benches. A puncheon floor is made of logs whose upper surface have been clipped flat with the adze. The cracks between the logs were not filled; there was no carpet; consequently, if you dropped anything smaller than a peach it was likely to go through.

The church was perched upon short sections of logs, which elevated it two or three feet from the ground. Hogs slept under there, and whenever the dogs got after them during services the minister had to wait until the disturbance was over. In winter there was always a refreshing breeze up through the puncheon floor; in summer there were fleas enough for all.

A slab bench is made of the outside cut of a sawlog, with the bark side down; it is supported on four sticks driven into auger holes at the ends; it has no back and no cushions. The church was twilighted with yellow candles in tinted scones hung against the walls. Week days the church was a school house.

There were two stores in the village. My uncle, John A. Quarles, was the proprietor of one of them. It was a very small establishment, with a few rolls of "bit" calicoes on half a dozen shelves, a few barrels of salt mackerel, coffee and New Orleans sugar behind the counter; stacks of brooms, shovels, axes, hoes, rakes and such things here and there; a lot of cheap hats, bonnets and tinware strung on strings and suspended from the walls; and at the other end of the room was another counter with bags of shot on it, a cheese or two and a keg of powder; in front of it a row

of nail kegs and a few pigs of lead; and behind it a barrel or two of New Orleans molasses.

If a boy bought 5 or 10 cents' worth of anything he was entitled to half a handful of sugar from the barrel; if a woman bought a few yards of calico she was entitled to a spool of thread in addition to the usual gratis "trimmings."

Everything was cheap—apples, peaches, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes and corn, 10 cents a bushel; chickens, 10 cents apiece; butter, 6 cents a pound; eggs, 3 cents a dozen; coffee and sugar, 5 cents a pound.

I do not know how prices are out there in interior Missouri now (1877), but I know what they are here in Hartford, Connecticut, to wit: apples, $3 a bushel; peaches, $5; Irish potatoes (choice Bermudas) $5; chickens, $1 to $1.50 apiece, according to weight; butter, 45 to 50 cents a pound; eggs, 50 to 60 cents a dozen; coffee, 45 cents a pound.

Alexandria, Missouri, as a Pork-Packing Center.

From Edina, *Knox County Democrat*, March 15, 1923.

The generally unknown fact that the little town of Alexandria in Clark county, Missouri, was, prior to 1870, a rival of St. Louis and Chicago as a pork packing center is recalled in an important news bulletin now on the press for early issuance by the Missouri State Board of Agriculture. The contribution to live stock history in Missouri is from the pen of John Ashton, formerly associate editor of *The Breeders' Gazette*. The bulletin is entitled "A History of Hogs and Pork Production in Missouri."

On records taken from the books of A. Maxwell, later known as Maxwell and Johnson, are based many of the conclusions in the booklet as to the amount of packing done, prices paid and the extent of the business. Maxwell kept the books and handled the correspondence of the firm, which packed in the season of 1853-54, 2,705 head of hogs weighing a total of 576,411 pounds. The average weight was 213 pounds and the price paid for them was $20,625.56, or an average of 3.58 cents per pound. The next season 6,298 hogs were packed. Their total weight was 1,215,588 pounds and the cost was $42,667.18, or an average of 3.51 cents a pound. The following season shows 11,770 hogs packed, with a total weight of 2,254,940 pounds. The cost was $110,224.52, or 4.85 cents a pound.

The records show that each hog was noted by price and weight. It is also interesting to note that only four hogs received during these three seasons weighed more than 400 pounds. The estimated

profits for the season of 1855-56 in the books kept by Maxwell were $10,833 on meat and $1,702 on lard.

From the correspondence it is shown that hogs were driven overland in large droves. The packed meat and lard was shipped down the Mississippi river to St. Louis. A banking firm advanced money with which to purchase the hogs and when necessary acted as an agent for the sale of the meat. At times the purchase of hogs was interrupted for several days when the ice tied up river transportation and there was no way to get money from St. Louis.

Baptist History in St. Louis Told by Rev. Dr. Ewing.

From *The St. Louis Star*, March 11, 1923.

As a contribution to the educational part of the simultaneous evangelistic campaign now being conducted in all Baptist churches of St. Louis, Dr. S. E. Ewing of the St. Louis Baptist Mission Board has prepared a history in brief of the Baptist Church and its early organization work in this city. The paper states that the first Baptist preacher, and probably the first of any Protestant denomination, to hold a service in St. Louis was John Clarke, a Scotchman.

"It is said that Clarke and a man named Talbott," Dr Ewing writes, "started the Baptist denomination in St. Louis by immersing each other before the arrival of regularly ordained missionaries."

"The first Protestant Church to be established west of the Mississippi River, it is stated, was the Bethel Baptist Church, organized in 1806 at Cape Girardeau, later disbanded. The Fee Fee Church at Pattonville, St. Louis county, was organized in 1807 by Clarke, who also in 1809 organized the Salem Church, located now on the Shackelford Road, north of Florissant.

The First Baptist Church, organized February 18, 1812, later disbanded. Six of its members on January 6, 1833, with seven others, organized the Second Baptist Church in a room on Fourth street, opposite the courthouse. The Second Church, now one of the largest in the city, is at Kingshighway and Washington Boulevard. Three other locations were occupied by the Second Church before the erection of the present edifice—Third and Chestnut, Sixth and Locust and Beaumont and Locust.

The Third Church, Grand and Washington boulevards, now having a membership of 2,500, was organized in 1850. The Fourth Church, now located at Thirteenth street and Sullivan avenue, was organized in 1851. The First German Baptist Church (now St. Louis Park Church, 2627 Rauschenbach avenue) was organized in 1850.

At present there are twenty-two white Baptist churches within the city limits and sixteen in St. Louis county. There are also forty negro Baptist Churches in this territory.

The First Railway of The West.

From The Palmyra *Spectator*, March 16, 1922.

One routing his way from Palmyra through what is now Suter pasture, out across the State highway, and winding his way down the side of the bluff to the site of old Marion City, could still find faint traces of an old railroad right-of-way. Though its rails were made of wood and the cars that passed over it were drawn by horses, it was nevertheless a railway, and it served the purpose of the early day in which it was built.

Marion county today, with much pride, points to the fact that it was in the building of this little railway, known as the Palmyra-Marion City Railway, that the first railroad spike west of the Mississippi River was driven. * * * * * *

Back in the forties, when the Marion City boom was on, and people from Kentucky, Virginia and other eastern states were rushing to the fertile little valley around Marion City, Palmyra was already the home of many people and her future was bidding fair. Situated on the peak of the hills that overlooked the lowlands of the Mississippi River, Palmyra longed to have connections with the water front. Right on the banks of the mighty stream was Marion City, with a great future looming before her to become the metropolis and gateway of the West. It was, in the minds of Palmyrians, the proper point for railway connections with the water front.

However bad the people wanted the railroad, they realized it was a gigantic undertaking, but nevertheless there was more or less agitation for the project in the spring of 1847. During April of the same year the sentiment for the building of the road had reached its peak. It had been talked of a great deal, had been given much publicity in the newspapers, and a meeting was even held on the 23rd of April to discuss it, but little was accomplished and the session was finally adjourned until May 7th. By the time this date rolled round there was renewed enthusiasm and on that evening negotiations were again opened in a public meeting. This session started the ball rolling and a committee of three men was appointed to raise the necessary funds with which to do the surveying for the project and choose the most practical route and make such other investigations as might be necessary in the preliminaries. The meeting was presided over by Thomas Millan and the committee appointed was as follows: Wm. H. Walker, J. G. Easton and James F. Mahan. This committee set to work

without delay to accomplish the duties which had been assigned it, and made a report at a meeting held the 15th of May, 1847. The report was favorable and nothing seemed to stand in the way of building the road. The organization of the company was therefore perfected and for the next move went into an election of a board of trustees. Stanton Buckner was elected president of the company, with James E. Mahan as treasurer and James G. Easton, secretary.

During the latter days of May the surveying for the right-of-way was commenced, a portion of the stock subscribed was called and an estimate of the cost of building was made. The contract for the grading of the roadbed was finally let to J. W. Shepherd, the work to be completed by November 1, 1847. Actual work on the construction of the road was started without delay and by the middle of October there was a large force of men at work on the project. Interest in the railroad, however, did not continue long, save with a few, and, on account of failure to collect some of the subscriptions, work slackened during October, and by the next spring operations were practically at a standstill. On account of certain property owners refusing to give possession to the right-of-way, work was suspended altogether in April, 1848.

This move seemed to revive interest, and the railway project was soon again the chief topic of discussion. This led to a mass meeting which was held on the evening of April 15th, at which a great deal was accomplished toward continuing work on the road. Various committees were again set to work and, as a result of the meeting, the people resolved to go on with the construction of the railway—at least until all funds were completely exhausted. The first part of May brought about a vigorous campaign for additional funds and announcement was made that all obstacles concerning the right-of-way had been removed. The company now had possession along the entire route, and work was resumed.

Interest in the railway continued until the Hannibal & St. Joseph came to the front. When it was announced that the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad would come through Palmyra the Marion City road was abandoned. All Palmyra wanted was railway connection with the water front and the outside world, but the attempt to build the little railroad will always retain historical interest of the utmost degree, for, back in that early day, the undertaking was a big one, engineered by men who would not be satisfied to stay as they were, but who employed the word "Progressiveness" as their daily motto.

Although Marion City has long since been destroyed, its site now being a part of the Mississippi River bed, traces of the Marion City road are still to be seen.

St. Louis as a Market in 1812-16

From Marshall *Democrat-News*, January 12, 1922. (Reprinted from St. Louis *Live Stock Reporter*.)

The Reporter recently had an inquiry for information regarding the early history of St. Louis as a live stock slaughtering center. Upon consulting Sharf, Stevens and other historians we find that the first public market was opened in St. Louis September 1, 1812, and it was stated at the time that this was the first public market west of the Mississippi River. It was on city square, block No. 7, and contained twelve stalls that rented from ten to thirty dollars a year. The size of the entire market was sixty-four by thirty feet. There was a clerk of the market appointed by the municipality at the handsome salary of $104 a year.

The first butcher shop in St. Louis that there is any record of was established September 17, 1814, by one Benjamin Estill. In advertising the opening of his butchering establishment he said:

"The subscriber respectfully informs the citizens of St. Louis that he will commence the butchering business on Monday next. With deference he requests heads of families and masters of shops to meet him that morning at the market house and participate of his first essay as a free will offering. The farmers who make St. Louis a market for their beef are invited to call on the subscriber at the Sign-of-the-Cross-Keys (southern end of St. Louis) and make positive contracts for their cattle, as the subscriber wishes to destroy the prevailing idea of advantage being taken of them in bringing their beef to market. Those who favor him with their custom will always have their money on delivery of their beef."

In 1816, two years after Estill opened his establishment, the city had a population of 3,000. It is interesting to note the official market quotations of St. Louis in 1816:

Beef on foot, $4 per cwt.
Flour, $16 per bbl.
Wheat, $1 per bushel.
Corn, 37c per bushel.
Hams, 12c per pound.
Cattle hides, $2.75 each.
Hog lard, 12c per pound.
Bear's lard, $1.50 per gallon.

PERSONALS.

Hon. Omer Henry Avery: Born in Lincoln county, Missouri, April 3, 1854; died at Troy, Missouri, February 13, 1922. He graduated from the law department of the

University of Missouri and practiced law at Troy for more than forty-four years. From 1888 to 1890 he served Lincoln county as prosecuting attorney. Later he served as the representative of the county in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth general assemblies. In 1904 he was elected State Senator from the eleventh district.

Hon. M. R. K. Biggs: Born in Pike county in 1832; died at Farber, Missouri, November 4, 1922. With the exception of a few years spent in California during the gold rush of '49, he spent his entire life in Pike county. He was elected State Senator from the eleventh district in 1900 and served in the forty-first and forty-second general assemblies.

Benjamin F. Blanton: Born September 20, 1838, at Jefferson City, Missouri; died March 25, 1923, at Paris, Missouri. He learned the printer's trade at Glasgow, Mo., seventy-two years ago. In 1873 he became the publisher of *The Monroe County Appeal* and was actively in charge of that publication until 1919. The *Appeal* was originally established in Monroe City, but was moved to Paris in 1875. He took part in the border warfare preceding the Civil War and had a part in the raid on Lawrence, Kansas.

Lewis Wesley Brannon: Born at Williamsburg, Ohio, April 2, 1845; died at Princeton, Missouri, March 11, 1922. During the Civil War he served in the Union army. He came to Princeton in 1867 as a printer for the *Advance*. In 1871 he leased the plant, but shortly afterwards, in 1873, founded the Princeton *Telegraph*. He was connected with this publication until his death.

Major Sidney G. Brock: Born at Cleveland Ohio, April 10, 1837; died February 17, 1923, at Macon, Missouri. He received his education at Alleghany College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, graduating in 1859. Later he studied law and was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1861. He served during the Civil War as Captain and Major in Company H of the 67th Ohio infantry. He came to Macon, Missouri, in 1866 and practiced law until 1871, when he became a partner in the founding of the Macon *Republican*. He retired from active work several years ago on account of failing health.

Bishop Maurice F. Burke: Born in County Limerick, Ireland, May 5, 1845; died at St. Joseph, Missouri, March 17, 1923. He came with his parents to Chicago when four years of age and was educated at Notre Dame University and the American College in Rome. He was ordained a priest there in 1875. He was transferred to St. Joseph in June, 1893, and served the St. Joseph diocese from that time until his death. He was the ranking bishop in the American hierarchy.

Abbot Frowin Conrad: Born in Switzerland in 1834; died at Conception, Missouri, March 24, 1923. He came to Conception in 1876, when it was made a priory. Four years later it was made an abbey and he was in active charge until four years ago when, on account of his advanced age, a coadjutor abbot was named. He was believed to have been the oldest Benedictine Abbot in the world.

Hon. Webster Davis: Born June 1, 1861, at Ebensburg, Pennsylvania; died February 22, 1923, at Kansas City, Missouri. He came to Missouri with his parents as a child and spent his boyhood at Gallatin. As a young man he worked his way through the University of Michigan and afterwards located at Garden City, Kansas. Later he moved to Kansas City, Missouri, and served as mayor of that city from 1894 to 1896. He was assistant secretary of the interior in President McKinley's administration. In the late '90's he made a trip to South Africa and returned to the United States a champion of the Boer cause. However, he met with no success in his efforts to enlist the sympathies of the United States. Of late years Mr. Davis had spent most of his time on the lecture platform.

A. C. Dingle: Born in Audrain county, Missouri, September 23, 1862; died at Moberly, Missouri, March 23, 1923. Mr. Dingle moved to Moberly in 1888 and at the time of his death he had nearly completed his third term as mayor of that city. He was president of the Missouri State Fair Association; president of the Tri-State Fair Association, comprising the states of Illinois, Iowa and Missouri; a

member of the State Board of Agriculture; and vice-president of the American Trotting Association.

Hon. Elias S. Gower: Born March 30, 1850, in Centre county, Pennsylvania; died April 23, 1922, at Grant City, Missouri. He came to Missouri first in 1869, returning east for a few years, then again coming to Missouri in 1874. Locating at Grant City, he purchased the *Worth County Times*. With the exception of the years 1879-1892, he edited this paper from 1874 until 1914. He represented Worth county is the Missouri general assembly three consecutive terms, being elected in 1880, 1882 and 1884.

Charles C. Hilton: Born in Washington county, Virginia, May 11, 1856; died at Appleton City, Missouri, March 7, 1922. He came to Appleton City in 1878 and entered into newspaper work on the *Voice of the People*, later working on other newspapers. In 1882 he became editor and publisher of the Appleton City *Journal* and continued as such until 1912, when, because of ill health, he retired.

Warren Clifton Kapp: Born in Clarion county, Pennsylvania, December 5, 1867; died February 20, 1922, at Centerville, Iowa. He came to Missouri as a boy and received his education in the public schools of Chillicothe and in the Chillicothe Business College. He learned the printer's trade on the Chillicothe *Constitution*. In 1892 he located in Slater and began publication of the Slater *Rustler*. Four years later he bought a half interest in the Higginsville *Leader* and moved to that town. In 1898 Mr. Kapp and his partner purchased the Warrensburg *Journal-Democrat*. Mr. Kapp bought his partner's interest in 1904 and in 1913 consolidated the publication with the *Johnson County Star*, selling his interest in the business in 1921 and removing to Iowa.

Hon. George T. Lee: Born in Jefferson county, Missouri, February 22, 1854; died at Van Buren, Missouri, December 31, 1921. He was educated at Arcadia College in Missouri and settled in Wayne county. Here he engaged in the mercantile business and represented Wayne county in the state legislature in 1883 and 1887. With the completion of the Current River Railroad, he moved to Van Buren and engaged in busi-

ness. He was elected to the general assembly from Carter county in 1890 and 1896 and later served a term as state senator.

F. H. Ustick: Born at Lyons Valley, Iowa, April 18, 1858; died at Denver, Colorado, November 13, 1922. As a young man he entered the service of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad at Hannibal, Missouri. He steadily advanced until he held an executive position. He had served as superintendent of the Brookfield division of the Burlington, superintendent of the Aurora, Illinois, division and general superintendent of the Iowa division.

Wallace Williams: Born at Fulton, Missouri, May 13, 1849; died at Fulton January 18, 1922. He entered the office of the Fulton *Telegraph*, which was owned by his father, and was associated with the editing and publishing of that paper until 1885, when it was sold. In 1895 he again became owner of the *Telegraph* and published it until 1909.

James E. Watkins: Born August 1, 1866, in Adams county, Illinois; died January 31, 1923, at Chillicothe, Missouri. He came to Missouri as a boy with his parents and was educated and studied law at Jamesport, Missouri, having been admitted to the bar in 1889. He removed to Chillicothe shortly afterwards and engaged in the practice of his profession until 1912, when, through the death of his brother, he became owner of the Chillicothe *Constitution.* Assisted by two sons, he published this newspaper until the time of his death.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS

JANUARY–JUNE, 1922.

Andrew County. Savannah, *Reporter.*

March 10. Sketch of the life of W. A. Pyle, Union veteran and former county official.

April 28. Founder of the *Reporter.* Sketch of O. C. Paul, founder of paper, some history of the publication and items from early issues.

Mutual Telephone Company 20 years old. A historical sketch.

Some Savannah school history.

Atchison County. Fairfax, *Forum.*

March 24. The Presbyterian anniversary. Some reminiscences.

——— Rockport, *Atchison County Journal.*

Feb. 9. A brief review of Rock Port.

March 2. When I was a little boy. Recollections of John D. Dopf.

March 10. Preachers in 1863. Dopf tells of early-day preachers in Rockport.

March 23. Sketch of the life of John Richards, pioneer and former county official.

June 1. Notes on building of first railroad.

June 8. Early lawyers of Atchison county.

——— ———*Atchison County Mail.*

April 21. Is 86 years young. Civil War recollections of Charles Hall.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Intelligencer.*

Jan. 5. Leading up to and after the Centralia Massacre, by Joe Lee Bomar.. See preceding and succeeding issues.

——— ———*Weekly Ledger.*

Jan. 12. Audrain and Mexico 70 years ago. Reprinted from Centralia *Fireside Guard.*

June 22. History of old seminary building, Hardin College.

Barton County. Lamar, *Democrat*

June 1. Tales of Barton county's early days.

Bates County. Butler, *Weekly Times.*

Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of W. B. Dawson, former county official.

——— Rich Hill, *Mining Review.*

April 27. How Rich Hill came to be named.

Benton County. Warsaw, *Benton County Enterprise.*

May 12. Sketch of the life of T. B. White, Union veteran and former publisher of the *Enterprise.*

May 19. Boating on the Osage. Some reminiscences of Tom Bristoe.

Boone County. Centralia, *Fireside Guard.*

Jan. 6. Interesting history. 1840-50 statistics of Audrain county.

Jan. 13. From Harvey Hulen. Reminiscences of Civil War. Continued in issues of January 20, February 17, 24, March 3, 24.

Jan. 27. Boone county in 1850.

Feb. 3. Mrs. Conger writes some reminiscences.

Feb. 10. From Harvey Hulen. Recollections of pioneer life.

March 31. From Harvey Hulen. Voting in 1865. Continued in issue of April 7.
May 12. General conditions in 1865.
May 19. The Mexico Female College in 1867. Continued in issues of June 2 and 9.
May 26. Locust Grove Schools in 1867. Continued in issues of June 2 and 9. Other Boone county schools in issues of June 16, 23.

———— Columbia, *Evening Missourian*.
Feb. 1. "Female Academy" in Columbia opened in 1830 in a log house. A sketch of the forerunner of Stephens College.
Feb. 2. First postmistress in county appointed in Columbia in 1838.
Feb. 17. Position of university women advances from toleration to emulation. History of co-education in the University of Missouri.
Feb. 18. Columbia jail was scene of Mormon and Bushwhacker fights.
March 1. Scott and Bates, early Missouri statesmen, helped Showme State.
Tin shop of 1843 is now a large store. Sketch of Newman Hardware Company.
March 9. Personal duels and political fights mark Thomas H. Benton's life.
Baptists had earliest church organization in Columbia.
April 6. M. U. Students' stunt began in 1906. Sketch of Farmers' Fair.
April 17. Columbia was dependent on moon for lighting before 1872. Story of municipal lighting.
April 21. Bingham, Missouri artist, has works in many Columbia homes. A few facts concerning his life.
June 7. Christian College started here in 1851 in small house. Some historical data, with photo of college in 1873.

———— ————*Daily Tribune*.
March 2. Missouri compromise passed Congress 102 years ago today.
March 14. Seeking silver in the Missouri Ozarks region; with some early-day legends of riches.
April 27. Sketch of the life of A. P. Miller, Confederate veteran.
June 16. Letter to Mrs. Moss recalls politics of 40 years ago. Recollections of political campaign of 1882.
June 21. Major John N. Edwards' story of Col. Eli Hodge's thrilling adventures in Old Mexico. Reprinted from *Missouri Historical Review*.

———— Sturgeon, *Missouri Leader*.
March 23. Sketch of the life of Julius Dunn, Mexican and Civil War veteran.

Caldwell County. Cowgill, *Chief*.
Jan. 27. Sketch of the life of James Cowgill, founder of the town of Cowgill, former State official and Union veteran.

Callaway County. Auxvasse, *Review*.
Jan. 4. Recollection of some noted Missourians. By Wm. S. Bryan.

———— Fulton, *Gazette*.
Jan. 19. Sketch of the life of Wallace Williams, pioneer editor.

Cape Girardeau County. Jackson, *Missouri Cash-Book*.
Jan. 26. Missouri's standing as a state. Agricultural statistics.

Carroll County. Carrollton, *Democrat*.
June 30. Sketch of the life of Silas A. Perry, Union veteran.

———— ————*Republican-Record*.
Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of E. G. Grossman, Union veteran.

Feb. 16.	Sketch of the life of Joseph S. Pence, Union veteran.
June 8.	Sketch of the life of Thomas W. Minnis, Union veteran.
June 15.	Sketch of the life of James T. Graham, former county official.
Carter County.	Van Buren, *Current Local.*
Jan. 5.	Sketch of the life of G. T. Lee, Confederate veteran and former state legislator. See also issue of January 12.
Feb. 9.	Missouri's great mine romance near end. Story of Iron Mountain. Reprinted from St. Louis *Star.*
Cass County.	Harrisonville, *Cass County Leader.*
Jan. 26.	Sketch of the life of J. R. Schnell, Union veteran.
Feb. 9.	Political history of Cass county. Some voting records of early years. Reprinted from *Cass County Times* for December 18, 1896.
————	Pleasant Hill, *Times.*
April 21.	Sketch of the life of Judge Ewing Cockrell, circuit judge.
April 28.	Recalls other days. Extracts from *Western Dispatch* of March 17, 1875.
May 19.	A bit of local history. By Kathleen Osborne.
Cedar County.	Stockton, *Journal.*
Feb. 9.	Remarks of C. C. Dickenson at the unveiling of an oil painting of the late Senator William J. Stone.
Clark County.	Kahoka, *Clark County Courier.*
Jan. 6.	Clark county history. Miscellaneous subjects; by Jasper Blines. See also succeeding issues.
May 12.	A sketch from Knox county history.
————	————*Gazette-Herald.*
Jan. 6.	Chapters from the history of Clark county. By Jasper Blines. See succeeding issues.
Clay County.	Liberty, *Advance.*
Jan. 2.	Wrote in the dim beginning. Review of first book written west of the Mississippi—"The Commerce of the Prairies," by Dr. Josiah Gregg. Reprinted from Kansas City *Star.*
Jan. 16.	The Battle of New Orleans. Reprinted from New Orleans *Picayune.*
	In grandmother's day. Etiquette of 50 years ago.
Jan. 30.	Gives live stock history. A review of the purebred industry in Clay county, by Senator T. J. Wornall.
March 20.	Life at I. O. O. F. Home. Description of Home.
	Benton was far seeing. Sketch of life of Missouri's great senator. Reprinted from St. Louis *Globe-Democrat.*
March 27.	He heard Benton speak. Incident of one of Benton' scampaigns.
May 1.	Sketch of the life of Major W. N. Ewing, Confederate veteran.
May 8.	Sketch of the life of John W. Scott, Confederate veteran.
May 15.	County's early history. By Mrs. R. H. Miller.
May 22.	Early-day lawyers. Some facts concerning a few.
————	————*Tribune.*
March 3.	In an old cornerstone. Some historical documents.
March 17.	The 50th anniversary. Account of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Clay county in 1872.
March 31.	Sketch of the life of John W. Morrison, Union veteran.
June 23.	Liberty's centennial year. Some history and recollections of early days. By Mrs. R. H. Miller.
————	Smithville, *Democrat-Herald.*
May 12.	Sketch of the life of John W. Scott, Civil War veteran.
Clinton County.	Lathrop, *Optimist.*
Jan. 26.	Sketch of the life of R. A. Chenoweth, Union veteran.

Cooper County.	Boonville, *Advertiser.*
June 20.	Anniversary of the Battle of Boonville. Story of conflict as recorded in W. F. Johnson's History of Cooper County.
————	————*Central Missouri Republican.*
Jan. 5.	River once washed the hills of Howard. Some prehistoric data on Missouri River, by S. W. Ravenel.
April 20.	Lutheran history in Missouri.
May 4.	Sketch of the life of Capt. S. W. Ravenel, Confederate veteran; pioneer civil engineer. See also Bunceton *Weekly Eagle* for May 5.
Dallas County.	Buffalo, *Reflex.*
April 6.	Sketch of the life of Frank Furth, pioneer merchant. With reprint of article by Mr. Furth, "My First Glimpse of Buffalo."
DeKalb County.	Clarksdale, *Journal.*
June 22.	DeKalb's first white man.
June 29.	Early DeKalb county marriages.
————	Osborn, *Enterprise.*
March 10.	Sketch of the life of Walden Kelly, Union veteran.
Dent County.	Salem, *News.*
Jan. 5.	Sketch of the life of Edward H. Potter, Union veteran.
May 18.	Sketch of the life of Capt. Wade Hicklin, Confederate veteran.
Dunklin County.	Kennett, *Dunklin County News.*
Jan. 6.	An interesting document. A plan for the reclamation of the Mississippi valley, written by A. K. R. Fassett in 1875.
Franklin County.	New Haven, *Leader.*
March 23.	New Haven nearly 40 years ago. A census of town about 1885.
————	Pacific, *Transcript.*
March 24.	History of Fox Creek postoffice.
————	Union, *Republican-Tribune.*
Feb. 10.	History of the court houses of Franklin county, by Clark Brown. Continued in issue of February 17.
March 17.	History of county buildings other than the court house.
March 24.	A view of Franklin county in 1838, by Herman G. Kiel.
March 31.	Another old letter. A letter written in 1832, descriptive of rural conditions at that time.
April 28.	Some early New Haven history, by Clark Brown.
May 26.	Synod recalls pioneer days. Story of the organization of the Lutheran Church in Missouri.
June 9.	The governor visited Union three-quarters of a century ago on horseback. By Herman G. Kiel.
————	Washington, *Franklin County Observer.*
March 24.	Life in this county 100 years ago. Some facts about pioneers.
May 5.	Local Lutheran Church 60 years old. A historical sketch.
————	————*Citizen.*
March 24.	A visit to Washington in 1874.
June 9.	Killed in Confederate raid. Account of the death of Peter Koenig and Henry Kosfeld on October 3, 1864.
Gasconade County.	Hermann, *Advertiser-Courier.*
March 29.	Sketch of the life of John W. Ingrum, Union veteran.
Gentry County.	Albany, *Ledger.*
Jan. 26.	Sketch of the life of R. M. McCammon, former county official.
Henry County.	Windsor, *Review.*
May 25.	Boating on the Osage. Recollections of navigation on the Osage River, by J. H. Lay.

Holt County. Mound City, *Journal.*

April 6. History of New Liberty school district.

June 22. Mound City in 1888—a business directory.

——————— Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel.*

April 28. Then and now. A comparison between present and pioneer conditions in county, State and nation.

June 16. Early postoffices in Holt county. Also dates of establishment of rural free delivery at various Holt county towns.

June 30. Early school days. Recollections of first brick public school building in Oregon.

Howell County. West Plains, *Howell County Gazette.*

May 25. Sketch of the life of James Holmes, Confederate veteran.

Jackson County. Kansas City, *Journal.*

Jan. 1. Kansas City's progress since 1880 told in figures.

Jan. 22. New bridge will revive glory of Mission Trail; with historical notes on Trail.

River near Kansas City hides fortune in whiskey. A story of a river tragedy of 1855.

Jan. 29. Unique covered bridge near Kansas City played prominent part in battle which threatened to destroy a city. An episode of the Civil War.

Missouri woman, now living in Ozarks, was with ill-fated party of Maximilian in Mexico. Her recollections.

Lives of pioneer Kansas City physicians filled with romance and hardship. A descriptive sketch.

Kansas City woman recalls sinking of steamboat "Princess" after snagging near here. A Missouri River episode.

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How Kansas City absorbed its parent town. Pictures of Old Westport.

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June 25. Kansas City's first attempt at river improvement.

———— *Post.*

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Feb. 21. Sketch of the life of John F. Shafroth, Missourian, former governor of Colorado.

March 6. First sweetheart of Mark Twain tells of humorist's early life.

———— *Star.*

Jan. 1. The "Hello" boys of Kansas City's first telephone exchange.
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When Kansas City was a horse-and-buggy town.

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Feb. 26. A fighting Foster of the '70's. A story of the fire department and politicians of 50 years ago.

March 3. A product of Civil War. A short history of the Home for the Aged in Kansas City.

March 12. A busy Kansas City corner in the '70's—8th and Walnut.

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May 26. Memories in a turnfest. Story of Kansas City Turner Society.
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June 13. What you should know about Missouri's Constitution By Prof. C. H. McClure.

———— ————*Times.*

Jan. 17. Paradoxes in the history of Missouri. By Floyd C. Shoemaker.
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June 28. W. H. Leib reminisces. Early days in music in Kansas City recalled.

———— Lees Summit, *Journal.*

Jan. 5. Some Jackson county Civil War history. Reprinted from Holden *Progress.*

Johnson County. Holden, *Progress.*

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———— Warrensburg, *Star-Journal.*

March 28. Dummy line and equipment sold. Some facts regarding establishment of road to Pertle Springs.

Knox County. Edina, *Knox County Democrat.*

Jan. 19. Sketch of the life of D. A. Rouner, Confederate veteran.

———— ————*Sentinel.*

Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of J. E. Adams, Union veteran.
April 27, Sketches of Knox county. Description of overland train which left for west in '59.

Lincoln County. Elsberry, *Democrat.*

Feb. 24. Lincoln's duel called off. Story of duel arranged to be fought in Missouri in 1842. Reprinted from St. Louis *Star.*
March 24. Florida, Mo., as Mark Twain recalls it. Reprinted from autobiography in *Harper's Magazine*

Macon County. Atlanta, *Express.*

Feb. 17. Sketch of the life of J. F. Davidson, Union veteran.

Marion County. Palmyra, *Spectator.*

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May 3. Some recollections of the Civil War, by A. S. Kelley.

May 10. The passing of an old landmark. Reminiscences concerning Hanley's opera house, erected in 1857.
May 24. Slave days in Missouri.
June 21. The romantic career of Col. Blees of Macon. Reprinted from Quincy *Herald.*

Mercer County. Princeton, *Telegraph.*
Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of David W. Lowry, Union veteran.
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Mississippi County. Charleston, *Enterprise-Courier.*
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Moniteau County. California, *Moniteau County Herald.*
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———— Tipton, *Times.*
Jan. 20. Sketch of the life of George H. Albert, Union veteran.

Monroe County. Monroe City, *Semi-Weekly News.*
March 10. Old Palmyra house is last reminder of the fate of Marion City. Story of the lost town of Marion county.
April 7. First fast mail run 62 years ago. Story of first train over Hannibal and St. Joe Railroad April 3, 1860.

Morgan County. Versailles, *Leader.*
Feb. 10. Interesting reminiscences and information concerning former Morganites.
———— ————*Statesman.*
May 4. John Hannay's letter. Reminiscences of early days in Morgan county.
Syracuse history. Historical sketch of village, by P. H. Hull.

Osage County. Linn, *Unterrified Democrat.*
June 15. Some ancient local history. Extracts from "Personal Recollections," by John F. Darby.

Pemiscot County. Caruthersville, *Democrat-Argus.*
April 4. High water data since 1907.

Phelps County. Newburg, *Phelps County Record.*
June 29. Sketch of the life of T. J. Ellis, Union veteran.
———— Rolla, *Herald.*
March 23. Sketch of the life of Dr. A. L. McRae, director of the Missouri School of Mines. See also Rolla *Times*, March 23, and *New Era*, March 24.
———— St. James, *Journal.*
April 21. Condensed history of State Federal Soldiers' Home.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Times.*
Feb. 2. Our honored dead. A list of soldiers buried in Bowling Green cemetery. Continued in issues of March 9 and May 11.
Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of Wm. McQuie, Revolutionary soldier.
April 27. A bit of unwritten history. Description of pioneer life in Pike county. By Frank Barnett.
How old is Bowling Green? Facts about founding.
June 1. Some anecdotes of those who settled in Pike and counties near.
———— Louisiana, *Journal.*
May 19. On the plains in 1862. Some recollections of Missouri in Civil War days, by George W. Stokes. Reprinted from New York *Herald.*

Polk County. Bolivar, *Free Press.*

Feb. 2. J. R. Maupin and Southwest Baptist College. A historical sketch of institution. See also *Herald* of January 26.
Feb. 9. When I came to Bolivar. Recollections of T. H. B. Dunnegan. Continued in issues of February 23 and March 16. Printed also in *Herald.*
June 29. Early-day lawyers of Bolivar. By J. G. Simpson.

Putnam County. Unionville, *Republican.*
April 19. Historical sketch of Unionville.

Ralls County. New London, *Ralls County Record.*
Jan. 20. Civil War days on Salt River.
May 19. When Benton was dethroned.
June 2. Some Missouri slave history.

———— Perry, *Enterprise.*
April 13. Events leading up to and after the Centralia massacre. By Joe Lee Bomar. Continued in issues of April 20 and June 22.

Randolph County. Moberly, *Weekly Monitor.*
April 13. First homes in Randolph county were log cabins. Some county history.

Ray County. Richmond, *Conservator.*
March 16. Battle of New Orleans. Reprinted from New Orleans *Picayune.*

———— ————*Missourian.*
Jan. 5. History of the Big Type Poland China hogs. By Charles E. Dawson. Continued in issue of January 12.

St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Banner-News.*
Jan. 19. Boys of 1862 took risks. A Civil War recollection.

St. Clair County. Appleton City, *Journal.*
Feb. 16. Peter Clark Macfarlane; some facts about Missouri-born writer.
March 16. St. Clair county in 1846. Some recollections of B. F. Lawler.
May 11. Sketch of the life of Charles C. Hilton, former publisher of the *Journal.*

———— Osceola, *St. Clair County Democrat.*
Feb. 28. St. Clair county in 1838. By B. F. Lawler.
March 9. St. Clair county in 1846. Printed also in *St. Clair County Republican.*

St. Louis County. Carondelet, *News.*
Jan. 6. When Carondelet was a city. Official proceedings of city officials. Continued in succeeding issues.

———— Clayton, *Watchman-Advocate.*
May 12. "Away back when." Random recollections of Mrs. W. P. Morgan.
June 30. Sketch of the life of Peter Kerth, Union veteran and former county official.

St. Louis City. *America At Work.*
Jan. 5. Casual reminiscences, by Saunders Norvell. A record of 40 years' observation and experience of men, cities and affairs in St. Louis, Missouri and the west. Continued in issues of February 5, March 5, May 5 and 20.
May 20. The Missouri Pacific Railroad. An analysis of the annual report for 1921.
June 20. The Missouri Ozarks and the national tie problem.

———— *Globe-Democrat.*
Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of M. G. Reynolds, former circuit judge. See also *Post-Dispatch* and *Star* for January 10.
Jan. 15. Interesting history in old tavern told in grandson's letter. Some notes on old Van Bibber Tavern at Mineola, Mo.
Feb. 25. Famous warship, "St. Louis," ends her brilliant career.

Feb. 26. Edward Bates, first champion of public schools in St. Louis, was a Civil War barrister. A biographical sketch.

March 12. Thomas Hart Benton, former Missouri senator. A biographical sketch.

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March 19. Francis P. Blair remembered as man who saved Missouri to Union during Civil War.

April 9. William Chiles Carr who championed education 100 years ago was member of first St. Louis school board. A biographical sketch.

April 16. Sketch of Wm. Clark, noted explorer.

April 23. Auguste Chouteau was pioneer of keen vision and leading spirit in building St. Louis. A biographical sketch.

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May 21. Life of James B. Eads is romance of magnificent dreams and accomplishments. A biographical sketch.

May 28. Shields sends letter to convention telling of 1875 experiences. Some recollections of Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875.

Missouri senatorial contest. Review of Reed-Long senatorial race, with historical political setting. Reprinted from New York *Times*.

Schools named for Eugene Field, Gen. Fremont and Wm. Glasgow, Jr., with sketch of the three.

June 4. New and old St. Louis linked by visits of veiled prophet.

Sketches of Grant, Gratiot and Hempstead, for whom St. Louis schools were named.

June 8. Sketch of H. C. Grenner, former United States collector of internal revenue at St. Louis.

June 11. Sketches of Laclede, Dr. J. T. Hodgen and C. H. Howard, for whom St. Louis schools are named.

Old St. Louis. Some photographs of other days.

June 18. Sketch of Wm. J. Barrows of Pulaski county, third assistant postmaster general.

Sketches of Wm. Carr Lane, Edward Henry Long and Brig.-Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, for whom St. Louis schools were named.

June 23. Sketch of former State Senator Charles F. Krone.

June 25. Lives of great philanthropists whose manifold benefactions are remembered by the city. Sketches of Capt. Isaac M. Mason, Bryan Mullanphy, and Col. John O'Fallon.

———— *Post-Dispatch.*

Jan. 15. The good old days on the river, by C. M. Berkley.

Feb. 12. Now told for the first time. Some history concerning the blowing up of battleship Maine in 1898.

Feb. 23. First brick dwelling in city, with photo.

Feb. 25. Daniel Boone judgment tree as it appears today and painting to be placed in state capitol. A historical sketch.

March 8. First of series of four articles on defects of Missouri's present constitution that should be remedied by convention. Continued in issues of March 10, 13 and 14.

March 19. "I used to know him in St. Louis." Prominent men who formerly lived in St. Louis.
April 9. The Grant centenary. The story of his 6 years' residence in St. Louis.
April 23. How the new constitution of Missouri should be constructed. By Dr. Isidor Loeb of the University of Missouri. Continued in issues of April 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, May 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13.
April 28. Grant's rejection as mathematics teacher at Washington University and other rebuffs here are related.
May 28. Tom Sawyer's sweetheart retires to a farm, with recollections of Mark Twain.

———— *Star.*

Jan. 9. Police reporter tells of early newspaper life in St. Louis and interesting experiences. Recollections of events and people in St. Louis by Kenneth G. Bellairs. Continued throughout January.
Jan. 18. Canadians and Creoles founded St. Louis, Dr. DeMenil decides.
Jan. 29. Former Judge Withrow recalls execution of spy said to have been engaged to Lee's daughter. A drama of the Civil War.
Jan. 30. St. Louisan recalls days when slaves were sold at auction at entrance to courthouse. Recollections of Capt. Joseph Boyce.
Feb. 6. Vogel's Band, organized in early '70's. A sketch.
March 8. St. Louis man who heard Lincoln debate with Douglas recalls their contrasting appearance.
March 12. Theodore Dreiser, novelist, recalls his newspaper career in St. Louis.
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"Lost towns" of Missouri may come back through the good roads building program. Some historical data.

Saline County. Marshall, *Democrat-News.*

Jan. 12. Contrasts agriculture in 1816 and at present. Reprinted from St. Louis *Live Stock Reporter.*
June 1. A tragedy in Saline's history. Story of how Saline county lost Missouri Pacific Railroad.

———— Miami, *News.*

June 15. Old surveys for Miami-Sedalia railroad recalled.

Scotland County. Memphis, *Democrat.*

Feb. 23. Old landmark moved. Sketch of historical building in Memphis.

———— ————*Reveille.*

Jan. 12. Origin and history of order of DeMolay. Story of boys' fraternal order founded by a Kansas City man—Frank S. Land. Reprinted from Kansas City *Journal.*

Scott County. Sikeston, *Standard.*

March 31. Mississippi county and her progress. Reprinted from St. Louis *Star.*

Sullivan County. Milan, *Standard.*

March 23. History of Sullivan county and Milan, as compiled by Father Jermain for corner stone of new Catholic church.

Warren County. Warrenton, *Banner.*

March 3. Sketch of the life of August Hollman, Union veteran and former county official.

Worth County. Grant City, *Worth County Times.*

April 27. Sketch of the life of E. S. Garver, former editor of the *Times* and state legislator. See also *Worth County Tribune* for April 26.

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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"OURSEL'S AS ITHERS SEE US"

BY FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER.

No recent article on Missouri has received such widespread circulation as Mr. Simpich's "Missouri, Mother of the West" (*National Geographic Magazine, April, 1923*). From a journalistic viewpoint the article is excellent and the many illustrations add much to increase the reader's interest. The author, a native of Illinois, was reared in Missouri, graduating from the New Franklin (Mo.) high school in 1898. From the biographical data in "Who's Who in America" (1922-1923), we learn that he read law two years in Appleton, Wis., and until 1909 was engaged in newspaper work in Shanghai, Manila, San Francisco, and other cities. Since 1909 Mr. Simpich has served the State Department mainly in foreign fields. In April, 1921, he was assigned to the Division of Western European Affairs. He married Margaret Elliot Edwards, of Howard county, Missouri, in 1909. His home is at Wenatchee, Washington. The article was probably compiled in 1922 as no mention is made in it of the $87,000,000 bond issue for beautifying the city of St. Louis, which was carried in February, 1923.

The interest attaching to the article, its large circulation, and the subject matter presented, seemed to us to warrant special consideration. A number of Missourians, members of The State Historical Society, were requested by us to write their impressions. Some of the replies were complimentary, others were reproving. The value of both lies largely in revealing not what Mr. Simpich did well or poorly but what Missourians see in themselves and their state. Some of the responses are here presented. Mr. J. Breckenridge Ellis, of Plattsburg, Missouri, one of the State's ablest and most widely known authors, a close observer, a careful reader, and a traveler who knows well his own state and country besides having personal acquaintance with foreign lands, presents these suggestive comments:

I realize the great difficulty of presenting in a single essay a picture of any of our States as a whole, rather than flashlights of sections. Particularly great is this difficulty in dealing with a State like Missouri, so diverse, yet at bottom so unified, so spiritually homogeneous. However, if one undertakes the task we are not unreasonable in expecting him to carry it out. Mr. Frederick Simpich, in "Missouri, Mother of the West," has written a very interesting article for the April number of the National Geographic Magazine; it is an article, moreover, filled with arresting statements, those of a statistical nature being particularly important. I have, however, two objections to offer. The merits of the article are on the surface, and do not require comment, for they are as obvious as the delightfully effective illustrations; but let me point out two things about Mr. Simpich's account that strike me as peculiar, and if it prove that my impressions are only personal to myself, no harm will be done.

I. *In regard to the world's smile at Missouri*, a smile at worst, scornful, at best, tolerant. No one who has traveled can have failed to detect this smile. But the article, though such seems to have been its purpose, is not of a nature to banish levity at the sight of a Missourian, or at the name of Missouri. I can imagine an Easterner after finishing its perusal commenting something like this: "Four billion eggs in one year—well, well! And so they stand first in the making of shoes? No doubt..... poor old Missouri!"

In this same magazine, Calvin Coolidge writes of Massachusetts. It is a story of ideas and ideals, of spiritual conflicts, and attainments of yearning and indomitable minds. Mr. Simpich tells a story of iron, of hogs, of goats. He is thrilled by our material greatness. He sees, as from afar, such names as Benton, Mark Twain, Doniphan, and lists them briefly with Jesse James and Quantrell and Pershing and Grant and the Youngers. They are cited merely as natural phenomena like the caves in the Ozarks. Surely, without boasting, one might dwell for a moment on names honored in distant lands, and omit others unhonored in their own. By our works of the spirit may we not also be thrilled?

II. *Mr. Simpich's picture of Missouri.* State pride prompts me to hail every just appreciation of Missouri wherever found, but is it unreasonable to complain if I do not find it in an article bearing its name? I was born in Missouri and have looked about me fifty years: but the Missouri that Mr. Simpich paints is, in essentials, unknown to me. This is not to say that he has painted falsely, but that he has not painted the entire picture. All of his bits may be recognized by local colorists; they are bits that keep the outside world smiling; to me, they are strange.

Of the superstitions listed by him as belonging to our smaller tenants I have heard of but one, and it belongs to Kentucky; moreover, these drifting year-by-year "farmhands" are not Missourians. They belong to the universe, and particularly, perhaps, to Tennessee. Such words as "poorly" and "peart" do not prove a Missourian, because they are used

with equal frequency by those of other states. They do not belong here. I must not question the assertion that "a few years ago" the farmers were accustomed to ride over their farms awhile in the morning, then spend the day in fox-hunting. But the fact that I, living in a farm-country, never knew of such daily diversions would seem to prove that the custom was only here and there—sounds like Kentucky to me.

I was reared in St. Louis, and have often visited it, yet I scarcely recognize Mr. Simpich's St. Louis and his Central Station. Possibly I see things through a glamorous atmosphere; the river front I find picturesque; wildly romantic; it smells of adventure. Perhaps I am unduly awed by the Station; it has to me always seemed immensely satisfying, soot, smoke, babies, everything. And tornadoes? I have never seen one. True I have visited the scenes of wreckage where one had passed. But are they more frequent to Missouri, more native, than anywhere else? Certainly in my section, people do not think of building storm-cellars as they do, for instance, in Oklahoma.

The farmers of Mr. Simpich are not my farmers. So far from rejoicing to serve on a jury, the Clinton county farmer must be practically arrested to get him to the courthouse. He does not listen to stories of Jesse James. More than half a century ago he was used to ministers of university and college training, lawyers who had graduated in law, doctors of high degrees, teachers perhaps from Europe. "As early as in the 90's," a graduate was not a curiosity to them, and, in fact, however rudimentary their own education might be, most of their children were at school, college or university. Yes, much earlier than the 90's. The farmers of Northwest Missouri are not only interested in crops but politics—no adequate outline can be given of them without recognition of their interest and participation in politics, not only now but in the prime days of Cockrell and Vest.

I find it bewildering to read a lengthy essay on Missouri without finding any hint of the existence of St. Joseph or Jefferson City or Hannibal and what they stand for, not to mention Paris or Chillicothe. As a Missouri writer, it would, perhaps, not be becoming in me to lament that the Missouri mule should be given more honor than all the writers who have written and are writing. It would seem that if space could be found for a long account of Pete and his hound dogs, a paragraph might have been given to what Missouri did in the World War. But it is not my purpose to speak of omissions. It is rather to point out and emphasize the curious fact that at least one native Missourian does not feel at home in the Missouri of the Geographic Magazine.

Perhaps you did not expect to call forth such a long comment, but you have the advantage of cutting it off wherever you get tired. If you can't agree with me, I shall not quarrel with you, remembering that you have not had the enlarging experience of living the greater part of your life in Plattsburg.

An article could be compiled from Mr. Ellis' letter. His position is broad, including man's work and man's spirit. Mention of the Missouri mule naturally calls up the rather striking featuring in Mr. Simpich's article of goats in Missouri. Turning to the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, part 1 (Agriculture), we note that Missouri had only 2,682 of the 104.734 goats in the country. This gave Missouri rank 12th in goats. Even such manufacturing states as New York and New Jersey ranked higher; Pennsylvania had over twice the number of goats credited to Missouri; Alabama three times as many; Texas four times, and California seven times. Missouri has not developed into a goat state.

One of the State's best informed men is Mr. Wm. Clark Breckenridge, of St. Louis, who is Missouri's leading bibliographer. His comments stress the material resources of the State and the future awaiting her.

I have read with a great deal of interest the article which appears in the April number of The National Geographic Magazine. It is entitled Missouri, Mother of the West and is written by Frederick Simpich.

It is one of the best and most interesting presentations of the resources of our State that I have ever seen.

Full and comprehensive in its scope it covers all parts of the state and shows how varied are its productions.

After a perusal of Mr. Simpich's article, one is more than ever firmly convinced of the great future awaiting our State which occupies such a commanding position in the Valley of the Mississippi.

This number of the Geographic Magazine is well worth binding for use for constant reference in our Library.

Few men in Missouri have attained so commanding a position in their vocation as Honorable George A. Mahan, of Hannibal. His love of Missouri and his public spirited work for the State are his avocations. He writes this conservative letter in which are presented views quite similar to those of Mr. Ellis. Mr. Mahan is a lawyer. He donated to Hannibal the boyhood home of Mark Twain.

Your letter of April 28th asking my opinion of Mr. Simpich's article on Missouri in the National Geographic Magazine received. I had laid this article aside to read, but under pressure did not get to it. However,

since hearing from you, I took it up and went over it with some care. I think in the main the article is a very good one. The illustrations are excellent. It is so written that it will doubtless attract general attention and please many people more than it does some Missourians.

The Missourian, in truth and in fact, is made up of the best from the north, east and south, and the intermingling has produced a resolute independent, intelligent, self-reliant, well-educated, practical people, speaking the very purest English and composing as good, if not the best, citizenship in America.

Mr. Simpich's idea of "signs and superstitions" in Missouri is mythical. Such a condition may, to some extent, have existed among the negroes prior to the Civil War; and his statement that they are "a fighting, fiddling, horse-trading lot—a curious, disappearing type," is far from the truth. No such condition ever existed in Missouri. There has always been less of that type than probably in any other state.

The parts of speech, which the author says identifies the man as a native Missourian, are heard less here than in many other states of the union. In fact, the Missourian cannot be identified by any special "trick of speech." However, this is a common error frequently accreditied to Missouri.

The description of railroads entering St. Louis would apply to any other city in the United States. Railroads do not enter American cities along boulevards and through parks, but through the manufacturing districts, and the idea that the river front and levee in St. Louis should be like Riverside Drive in New York City is an absurdity. Wherever there is heavy traffic and business there is of course an absence of fountains and flowers. Mr. Simpich's conception of the very splendid Union Station in St. Louis is visionary and far from the fact. There is not a more commodious, better arranged, or more cleanly kept union station in the United States, and the people traveling through it are not only Missourians, but from all over the world, and their like can be found in any other union station. It is in no sense confined to Missouri.

Mr. Simpich says that Missouri's "climate, to the uninitiated, is one of the worst on earth, though kindly described by the scientist as continental." This shows at once that he knows nothing whatever about the climate of Missouri. When he left his native heath, he must have stayed away, because if he had come back, or even consulted the weather bureau, he would have known that there is no better climate in the United States than that found in Missouri. While there are some cold and some hot days here during the year, there are as many good, comfortable, delightful ones on an average as in any other state.

The author's effort to show that in the nineties there were no college graduates in Missouri is an unfair and unfaithful reflection on the character of the people. In those days the educational facilities of Missouri were indeed very good, as they practically always have been, and there were as

many well-educated people and college graduates in proportion to the population as could be found in any other state, and they travelled as much, and wherever they went were recognized as persons of fine character and liberal education.

The absence of an effort in the article to show the Missourian as a green, gawky, slovenly kind of easy-going person would have made it much more dignified, truthful and better.

Mr. Rollin J. Britton, of Kansas City, is favorably impressed with Mr. Simpich's article. Mr. Britton is a lawyer and a historian. Readers of the *Review* will recall his valuable articles on "The Grand River Country and the Mormon War." His old home is Gallatin, Missouri, where so many men, later prominent in public and private life, have been reared. Mr. Britton knows his Missouri and especially the northwest part.

When I first read Frederick Simpich's "Missouri, Mother of the West" as it appears in the April issue of The National Geographic Magazine I was deeply impressed with the fund of information it pours out about the state; but I felt the least bit resentful about its characterization of Missouri people, which is perhaps overdrawn, and made very prominent.

When I re-read the article, however, I concluded that it is very fine and destined to be very beneficial to the State. It is easy to find fault even with things well nigh perfect, and I conclude that Mr. Simpich is much more familiar with St. Louis than he is with Kansas City, else he would not have failed to note that one of the greatest industries of Kansas City has been the development and conduct of the Southern pine lumber business, and that the same Kansas City interests now have a hold on the fir and redwood forests of Washington, Oregon and California.

Despite the fact that Missouri is American, it is also true that a sizeable slice of Germany is to be found in the lower valley of the Missouri, which development has been wonderfully told by Mr. Bek through the Historical Review.

There are localities in Missouri where primative conditions as they existed in older states are still in evidence. One of these spots is to be found in the northwest corner of Daviess county where a bit of old North Carolina still exists in the McDaniel neighborhood, which strange to say has been overlooked by all county historians.

Mr. Simpich has given the world a good story about Missouri. After reading it one should again read the speech of William P. Borland made in Congress, May 22, 1911, on Missouri, the Mother of Empires.

In southwest Missouri lives Judge O. H. Hoss, of Nevada. He is prominent as a lawyer and financier. President of the

Farm and Home Savings and Loan Association, one of the largest in America, his work makes necessary an accurate knowledge of conditions in Missouri and neighboring states. His public work in Nevada has contributed to many permanent assets,—efficient city government, fine schools, a progressive citizens' organization, a public library, and an advanced position on local matters. These comments of Judge Hoss merit consideration.

Your valued favor of April 28th to hand in reference to the article by Mr. Simpich which appeared in the April, 1923, issue of the "National Geographic Magazine." I am not at all surprised that you are wondering what the impression of Missourians may have been after reading this article. I had read the article, of course, before I received your letter and loaned the magazine to others to read. I do not know whether Mr. Simpich ever lived in Missouri or not, but I rather imagine that he didn't. He has probably taken an outing in the Ozarks sometime or other or talked to somebody who has taken such an outing.

The writer was born, and reared in the middle of the State of Missouri (six miles west of Sedalia in Pettis county, Missouri), and has lived in the state all his life, except for about two years spent in the Rocky Mountains after leaving the State Univeristy, and the tone and thought of this whole article is alien to that with which he has been accustomed to meet all his life in the State of Missouri.

The amazing blunder is to be found in the opening part of his article where he refers to Missouri and Missourians as "provincial." (He mistakes "conservatism" for "provincialism"—two very different things.) When you go to the larger cities of the United States, there you will find provincialism. Take a man who has been born and reared in Boston—the horizon comes down on the east just beyond that street which leads from Boston to Providence, Rhode Island; the horizon on the west is just a little bit away from Fenway Park, and anything beyond Brooklyn on the west is in the outlying province and is not to be considered.

Furthermore may I give a good example of crass provincialism? In 1907 I spent a month down in Old Mexico, most of the time in Mexico City and from there making trips to Coyoacan, Puebla, Guadaloupe, in the State of Hidalgo, and other places. On the sleeper coming back, before our train arrived at San Antonio, several of us were sitting in the smoking car and a young man who was born and reared in New York City asked the conductor how long he would have to lay over in San Antonio before he would get a train out to Denver. The conductor informed him that he would have to lay over about eight hours. Thereupon the young man with some irritation asked the question: "What in the world will I do with those eight hours in San Antonio?" and the writer remarked:

"Well, you might go and see the Alamo for one thing." The young man replied: "What is the Alamo? I never heard of it." The writer fell back exhausted and overwhelmed and said to the conductor: "You answer him. I am knocked out." The conductor, with some little severity, fairly shouted at the young man: "Did't you ever go to school?"

I merely mention this incident to show the provincialism of those who are housed up in the brick and mortared walls of a great city.

In conclusion may I say that, as above stated, I was born and reared in the State of Missouri and the thought of its people is along conservative common-sense lines (while Kansas on the west of us has been referred to as the national experiment station), and the type of people which this article pictures as making up the average Missourian is a type that you do not meet with at all in a lifetime, unless you go to certain portions of the state where some of them live, and the same thing might be said of New York City. Would any writer who was writing up a composite photograph or view of the thought of the people of New York City take the fur merchants down on Division Street as representative of the type of thought or main characteristic of the people of New York City? Hardly, and yet some people have said—and not without an appearance of truth either—that "New York is owned by the Jews, is run by the Irish, and Americans are permitted to live there."

The writer has traveled in almost every state in the Union and met all kinds of people, but I have never yet been greeted with that kind of thought or expression which Mr. Simpich says that even the tea-taster from Hongkong expressed on meeting a man from Missouri.

But enough of this, as I do not wish to weary you. Frankly, the article, as first stated, seems to have been written by a man who wrote out of the over abundance of his lack of information.

Another native Missourian whose comments were requested is Mr. Virgil M. Harris, trust officer in The National Bank of Commerce in St. Louis. Mr. Harris comes of Boone county stock and can trace back his Missouri ancestry for over a century. His pride in Missouri is based on knowledge of and love for the State. Mr. Harris writes:

I have your letter of April 28th with reference to the article on Missouri by Mr. Simpich, which appeared in the April issue of the National Geographic Magazine.

I read the article with a great deal of interest. There was much in it which was excellent, both from a literary and an historical point of view. He showed a close acquaintance with Missouri life and scenes in his descriptions. However, I think some of his criticism and even ridicule might have been omitted, or lessened, to advantage. But this spirit is apt to manifest itself when an author wanders away from old scenes and

becomes famous. Yet, he has done that which others have not done; and a useful lesson may have been taught us even though, as a native of Missouri, he may have forgotten the old couplet,

"Be to her virtues very kind;
Be to her faults a little blind."

Burns gave excellent advice which has aided all ensuing generations when he spoke of seeing "oursel's as ithers see us."

Returning from Jefferson City in the winter of 1921 I met a traveling salesman from St. Louis, Missouri, Mr. Harry C. Epstein, who noticed a copy of *The Missouri Historical Review* I was reading. He became and is now a member of The State Historical Society. This spring he was the first to call my attention to Mr. Simpich's article. His comments are indicative of the impressions a traveler would have who for years had covered five of the central states of the Mississippi Valley.

I am sorry that the first letter that I wrote you in reference to the article of Mr. Simpich's seemed to cause you to feel that I had any unusual pride in Missouri due to Mr. Simpich's article. Really I had enjoyed reading the article because I had been in so many sections of Missouri and it was an article that featured sections of Missouri in a different way from the usual. I have seen so much of Missouri and know so many different types of people in Missouri, that it did not seem right that Mr. Simpich should especially call attention to the peculiar traits of character among the native sons of Missouri. But it so happens that those traits of character are not alone in Missouri, native sons of other states have similar traits. As an article to produce interest in a prospective resident in the State of Missouri, it might prove unattractive or it might provoke amusement against the State, but if anyone carefully looked at the photos I am sure that the illustrations in the article would sell prospective residents the idea that Missouri is a fine State and worth while. Mr. Simpich must have a pride in the State in a favorable manner. His outline of the City of St. Louis failed to acknowledge that $87,000,000 will be expended in beautifying the city, he failed to anticipate the future development of the culture of the State.

As the East is considered a section of culture, it should be informed of the State of Missouri in other ways from Mr. Simpich's article. Art has a place in the life of the people of Missouri. Music is strong in the affection of the people. Literature has its hold on the lives of the people and as the State becomes more and more wealthy the people will have more time to devote to cultural pursuits.

The readers whose comments have been reproduced have presented candid opinions. All of them are qualified to pass judgment on their state. I believe all of them are highly educated, widely read and widely traveled, well-balanced in their pride of State, and successful in their work. Their views are perhaps typical of the representative citizens in Missouri.

The composite of the views presented might picture in outline my own opinion. The article is *not* one which a well informed Missourian, living in Missouri, would write. In some respects it is better, more interesting to citizens of other states; in other respects it is poorer, less accurate in spirit of the citizens of this State. Like the majority of feature articles, so popular today in magazines and newspapers, it is interesting and well illustrated. This feature of interest is obtained through good handling of language, rapid change of subject-items, and stressing the exceptional—whether good or bad, warranted or unwarranted. Illustrative of the exceptional would be the fox-hounds and goats, the unusual words of speech and superstitions. We all are tempted to yield in such matters whether we write or talk because we know the exceptional is *news*. In a recent trip to Georgia I remember most vividly an old woman and a little girl, each plowing behind a mule. A traveling salesman said that down there farms were not called 40, 80, or 160 acre farms but one-mule, two-mule, and four-mule farms. There may be some significance in what I saw and heard, but if an accurate picture of Georgia were painted I doubt if the artist would be warranted in featuring old women and little girls as the state's plow-workmen or in speaking of Georgia farmland as broken up into one-mule or two-mule farms. In fact the big plantation with its scores of negro workers or white tenants would be much more accurate. Still that little girl behind a one-mule plow and that one-mule farm *would* be more interesting.

If I were asked to set forth some of the more favorable assets of Missouri, I should name these:

1. The renaissance of spirit and work in education during the last ten years. The statistics on school enrollment, high schools, and colleges would be flattering.

2. The renaissance of spirit and work in promoting culture during the last ten years. The State Capitol, unsurpassed architecturally and in mural decorations; the proposed art and memorial centers in K. C.,; the park and boulevard systems in our cities; the recent $87,000,000 bond issue of St. Louis for civic improvements; the tremendous growth of our colleges and universities in buildings; the art and historical museums of St. Louis; the statutes of Missouri's great men erected here and there by the State; the attempt to have State parks; the tremendous growth of women's clubs; and the improvements noted everywhere to better and beautify everything from public buildings and homes to cemeteries and railroad approaches—all are examples of this striving for culture.

3. The great state-wide movement and work under way for better roads. I consider this an asset, material and educational.

4. The recent development of a state consciousness shown by state-wide movements, legislation, river improvement and bond issues. All this despite Missouri being a state of large cities and broad rural districts.

5. Remarkably diversified natural resources and each grand division of natural resources again remarkably diversified.

6. The development of manufacturing in Missouri and the rapid growth of cities.

7. A conservative and co-operative spirit of progress along all lines,—taxation, farming, constitution-making, schools, banking, labor, and capitol.

8. A homogeneous people of Nordic stock but diversified as regards former blood nationality.

9. General well-being of the population, mentally, materially, and physically.

10. Scenic beauty in all sections of the State and especially along river bluffs and in the Ozarks.

11. Historic spots everywhere and historic interest widespread compared with other states.

12. Central position of Missouri, politically, almost so geographically and racially. A state peculiarly American.

13. A colonizer state to the states lying west.

14. A state that has produced an exceptionally large number of eminent men.

Perhaps an article written for nationwide circulation could not be compiled along these lines. Even the readers of *The National Geographic Magazine* might not find it interesting, and the Golden Fleece of authorship is interest, later transformed into circulation. Interest is most easily secured through the exceptional, the new and the local. Mr. Simpich

has followed the rule and his article *is* interesting. But from these comments of representative Missourians, it is clear that many do not approve presenting the exceptional as typical of the whole, especially if it tends to lessen pride in state and people. Then, has Missouri the exceptional, the new, or the local that is not derogatory to pride in state and people? Here are a few suggestions hastily set down which may have *news* value in this field of the exceptional.

1. How many persons really know and appreciate the Ozark section of Missouri? In size it embraces 33,000 square miles or about one-half of Missouri. It is as large as Maine and half as large as all New England. In climate and health it is equalled by few sections in America. In scenery it cannot be surpassed. In cold-water springs, clear mountain streams, and caves marvelous in number, size, and stalagmitic adornments—the Ozarks is a wonderland. Truly it may be called potentially "The Playground of America." Bayard Taylor, world traveler, on visiting Ha Ha Tonka in Camden county, one of the many scenic places in the Ozarks, said, "I have travelled all over the world, to find here in the heart of Missouri the most magnificent scenery human eye has ever beheld." Is not such a section, even in America, something to be rightly called exceptional?

2. The richest lead district in America, perhaps in the world, lies entirely in Missouri. Two hundred years ago this district brought us many of our first settlers. From that time to this day the same district has been worked almost continuously. Indirectly it was this district which through John Law and his Mississippi Bubble brought about the inception of the modern system of government credit. In one town in this district, Old Mines, only fifty miles from St. Louis, I have been informed that even today, after nearly two centuries of existence, the French language is used more than the English.

3. Near Sarcoxie, known to many for its annual trainloads crop of strawberries, its nearby zinc fields, and its Irish-philosopher editor, Mr. Bernard Finn, are produced more peonies than on any similar area in America. The peony crop is a commercial one and the flowers and bulbs are shipped over the United States. I have been told that one of the most beautiful pictures to be found anywhere is the acres and acres of these peonies in full bloom as far as the eye can reach.

4. For fifty years the Joplin zinc field led the world in the production of zinc. The story of Joplin zinc, how for years men in search of lead threw the zinc "black-jack" away in mountain-like heaps, thinking it worthless, and how a chemist brought wealth to southwest Missouri—such a story may be exceptional.

5. Rockport, Missouri has a population of 1,100. It is the county seat of Atchison county and lies a few miles off the mainline railroad.

This town has made a record that is exceptional. It has a complete modern sewer and water system, several miles of paved streets, first class schools, two progressive country newspapers, fine bank buildings and plenty of deposits, a locally built and owned railroad connecting the town with the mainline and operating with no purpose of profit, and a new $75-, 000 memorial building paid for by local donations. It is awlays well represented at every statewide Missouri convention, altho Atchison county touches Nebraska and Iowa and lies very close to Kansas. It has sent scores of young men and women to colleges and university. It has no source of wealth except the soil. It is only a country town in size but a city in convenience, enterprise, and spirit.

6. Atchison county is small, containing only 528 square miles or about ¾ of 1% of the area of Missouri. Still this parcel of land, lying in the northwest corner of the State, actually produces 3% of all the corn raised in Missouri, and Missouri with her 146,000,000 bushels per year ranks from 4th to 6th in the U. S. in corn.

7. Why does not Hannibal, Missouri, also fall in this class of the exceptional? Few cities that I have seen can even rival the remarkable views afforded from Hannibal's river bluff park. And it has before it the majestic Father of Waters, dotted with beautifully wooded islands, and around it steep hills and caves. In the city itself is the boyhood home of Mark Twain, owned now and proudly kept by the city; a beautiful city hall; a fine public library building donated by two native daughters; a smaller park in the city's busiest part, adorned with trees, fountains, and statutes of eminent men.

8. Kansas City, "The Heart of America" in more than figurative sense, stands as the great open Gateway to the Southwest. Excluding industry, wealth, population, and miracle growth, where in America can such a city be found which, despite youth and topographical difficulties, has built a more perfect system of parks and boulevards, a more advanced system of schools, a better union depot in more appropriate setting, and has proposed now to erect a more perfect memorial and art museum center? Kansas City is certainly exceptional and I have not mentioned her historic associations which connect her with a dozen states to the west.

9. Where lies another cross-state highway like the Old Trails Route from St. Louis and St. Charles to Kansas City? Part of it is the old Boone's Lick Trail, the western half is the old Santa Fe Trail. Books have been written on both. It might have been appropriately named the "College Way" because ten of the eleven Missouri counties it traverses have either colleges or universities. And the historic places near this way. St. Louis, St. Charles, Duden's country, Callaway's county, Columbia, Old Franklin—that child, first of smiling Fortune and then of scornful Fate—, Boonville where the "Battle of the Races" was fought and where great men have been born, Fayette—the political center of Missouri for decades and the home of governors and colleges—,Marshall, Lexington, where

"Battle of the Hemp Bales" made Price a leader and Mulligan a hero, and Independence, where men once outfitted to trade with Mexicans, save the Oregon country for the United States, or seek fortune in California. Every twenty miles on this route have enough legend, tradition, or history to make a good article.

10. From swamps, sunken land, and earthquake-formed lakes to a gardenspot of tens of thousands of acres of the finest farm country in America is a brief but accurate description of the southeast Missouri cotton district. One of the first parts of Missouri to be settled, the first to be partly abandoned, the first to be reclaimed by man, and finally one of the few large agricultural districts in America that is growing fast in population, is this remarkable section which equals the valley of the Nile in richness and productivity of soil. Productive of corn, wheat, and alfalfa in crops from two to four fold above the average, and these without commercial fertilizer, it is now being devoted to cotton which equals in fineness and length of fibre the best in the world and in quantity many pounds per acre above the average. Lying beyond the march of the boll weavel, a crop is insured. Producing cotton worth $21,000,000 last year, the acreage this year promises a value of perhaps $50,000,000. And a century ago people left there by the hundreds because of earthquakes and accepted in lieu of their holdings free public land elsewhere.

11. If one were writing a story of Minnesota would it not be proper and interesting to mention the Mayo Brothers' institution at Rochester as well as wheat, rye, potatoes, and foreign stocks? In Missouri is found one of the great medical and hospital centers of America—St. Louis. In Missouri is found the original and the largest osteopathic center in the world—Kirksville.

12. If education is so important, are not people interested in its exceptional phrases? Then why omit mention of the fact that the oldest universities west of the Mississippi, the first successfully conducted kindergarten in America, the first widespread junior college movement in America, and one of the earliest manual training schools in America, are all Missouri possessions?

13. Is literature important? If so, are these names familiar and interesting to you—Mark Twain, Eugene Field, Mary Dillon, John R. Musick, Denton J. Snider, Caroline Abbott Stanley, Kate Chopin, Fannie Hurst, Sara Teasdale, Zoe Akins, J. Breckenridge Ellis, Augustus Thomas, Rupert Hughes, Louis Dodge, Harris Merton Lyon, Winston Churchill, and Homer Croy? These authors are Missourians and they are only a few of the many who deserve mention.

14. Certainly such leaders of men as Benton, Bates, Linn, Blair, Austin, Burnett, Bland, Cockrell, Vest, Clark, Green, Doniphan, Pershing, and Crowder are exceptional men. All are Missourians. And Missouri's representatives in art, music, philosophy, journalism, medicine, engineering, finance, agriculture, and mining have not been included.

15. If one simply must present the exceptional why not consider these facts—St. Joseph, rendezvous for tens of thousands who settled the West via the Oregon and Salt Lake trails, starting point of the Pony Express, wholesale center, city of wealth, and for centuries called by scores of Indian tribes the end of "The Road to Paradise;" Springfield, "Queen of the Ozarks," one of the most beautiful, delightful, healthful cities in Americia; the wind tossed brown loess soil of Missouri, found in quantity in only three or four places in the world and reported by experts as the most perfect soil for fruit and the most versatile soil for agriculture known to man; the German strip along the Missouri river, rivaling the Rhine in beauty, industry, products, wealth, customs, and race, but American in spirit for nearly a century; Gallatin, Missouri, a town of two thousand which seems to have specialized in producing statesmen, politicians, orators, and business leaders; Excelsior Springs, where nature has attempted to reproduce in one place most of the medicinal waters of the world; Iron Mountain, known fifty years ago as the greatest discovered mass of iron on earth and which is still being worked? And no mention has been made of the Missouri street car industry, plug tobacco, Eads Bridge, hardware, cob pipes, clam-shell buttons, beef and pork products, shoes, cement, tile, brick, and a score of other man-made products of worth or convenience and totaling high in monetary value.

16. But the most exceptional of all in Missouri is the people, and this not because they are superstitious or say "peart." They are homogeneous in spirit although compounded of French, English, Scotch, Irish, and German blood. They are contented and cooperative in their work although half are urban and half are rural. I do not recall that the Missouri militia ever killed a striker in the cities or a radical organizer in the country. They are positive and conservative. They have stood for sound finance and have rejected wild-cat currency and wild-cat banks. Missouri was first called "The Bullion State." Even in dire depression they have looked askance at cheap money and in nation-wide inflation they have suffered less through speculation. Although never realizing on their assets as much as was possible and although very conservative in their progressiveness, still they have never had such reactions as others due to over-optimism and impatience with the tardiness of human progress.

17. Missouri is one of the few states in this nation which produces these products and has high rank either in quantity or quality in most of them: corn, cotton, and wheat; bluegrass and hay; berries, fruits and melons; lead, zinc, barytes, cadmium, cobalt, nickel, and iron; coal and pottery clays; cement rock, building stone, marble, sand and gravel; hardwood timber and some pine; cattle, hogs, sheep, horses, and mules; poultry and dairy products.

Is not a state with such fundamental, exceptional, and diversified possessions and interests as these, worthy to be

placed beside the older commonwealths, with all their culture and traditions, by any writer who would present a true picture of her to the world?

THE PONY EXPRESS CELEBRATION

BY LOUISE PLATT HAUCK.

After sixty-three years the Pony Express will ride again! One of the most picturesque chapters of Missouri history will be re-written this summer when seven states will combine in a celebration commemorating this important event. A parade, or pagent of transportation, will pass over more than two thousand miles of territory and consume thirteen days in its progress. Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada and California will mark its passing with rodeos, agricultural and mining exhibitions, historical drama and other appropriate entertainments.

In St. Joseph, Missouri, the original starting point of the Express, a celebration which will exceed in splendour and immensity anything the city has ever given is planned. For six days the quaint old town which was known to the first rider will be depicted and the atmosphere of 1860 revived. On the first day the sixty riders for the new Pony Express will start on their journey to California, following as nearly as possible the original route; on successive days in the order of their handicaps will go a railroad train, tractors, automobiles and airships, all timed to arrive in San Francisco on Admission Day, September 9th.

While this gigantic parade streams across half the continent, St. Joseph will be busy entertaining her 50,000 visitors. Each night a pageant of the town's history, beginning with the arrival of young Joseph Robidoux and his black-eyed Frenchman; moving on through that important period when fifty thousand Oregon and California emigrants camped outside the little village one entire winter, "waiting for grass"; through the troublous years of the Civil War when brothers in the same family fought on different sides of the great conflict; on to the peace and prosperity of today. Nor will the start of the Pony Express be neglected. The sixty riders of the original Express will be represented by young men

garbed to the last detail as were they who made that historic journey. Many of the spectators of that event will be present to view the setting forth of the 1923 Express. William Frederick Cody Goodman, a nephew of "Buffalo Bill," who was one of the old riders, will participate in the race. The whole revival, to quote the plans of the national body which is known as the Pony Express Memorial Association, "will be the longest historical and industrial exhibition ever held in the world."

For the benefit of those who are a bit hazy in their recollection of the Pony Express, a brief account of its origin may not come amiss. In 1860, the firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell of Leavenworth found itself committed to the establishment of an overland mail route through the enthusiasm of its senior member, Mr. Henry Russell. Mr. Russell had been to Washington on government business and there he met Senator Gwin of California whose own burning interest in obtaining more direct mail facilities with the east for his state enlisted Mr. Russell's aid. Although his partners were doubtful of the financial success of the venture, they stood loyally by the promise given Senator Gwin, and set to work with such good will that only sixty days were required to make the preparations for the start of the new overland mail express. They obtained a charter under the name of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company (no wonder that it was known from the beginning as the Pony Express!), and absorbed in their route two stage lines, Chorpenning's, operating west of Salt Lake City, and the Leavenworth Pike's Peak Express. Sixty young men were engaged as riders and four hundred and twenty wiry ponies established at the different stations. Later the number of both riders and horses was increased. Announcements of the new mail company were inserted in the leading Missouri papers, and the start was planned for April 3rd.

The Hannibal and St. Joseph train was due with the eastern mail early in the afternoon, but the long hours dragged away without its appearance and it was dark before the cannon at the express office proclaimed the arrival of the mail, the

rider leaped into his saddle and galloped to the ferry to begin his forty mile journey to the first Kansas station. And upon that delay and the consequent late start of the first rider hangs the tale of the confused identity of him who first set forth on the journey for the new Express. Tradition in St. Joseph has had it that young Johnny Fry was the first rider. A search of Missouri histories reveals almost as many names who are applicants for the honor as there are books. Carlyle, Wallace, McIntyre, Cliff, Fry—each has a supporter of his claim among the historians.

Recent research of the writer brought to light a copy of the *Weekly West*, a newspaper published in St. Joseph in 1860. An account of the event of April 3rd is given and "a Mr. Richardson, a sailor," named as the first rider. The announcement of this find evoked a storm of protest from those who believed they had seen the start of the Pony Express. Johnny Fry, seventeen, handsome, picturesque in his beaded Indian jacket and crimson sash, mounted on his jet black pony, had been too long enthroned in the memories of those who had seen him to be dislodged from his position of accredited first rider by any mere newspaper verdict. I was instructed by the Pony Express Celebration Committee, of which I am a member, to make a through investigation of the matter and report upon it, in order that the historical accuracy of the celebration be preserved on all points. Exhaustive search brought to light the long missing files of the *Missouri Free Democrat*, published in St. Joseph during that period, and the *Elwood Free Press* of that date. (Elwood was the first town on the Kansas side through which the rider must pass.) The State Historical Society has the files of the *Missouri Republican*. This with the *Weekly West* makes four papers of contemporary date. Not one mentions the name of Fry. One gives Richardson's name, one mentions a stranger, two are silent on the subject of the rider's identity. Three of them declare the start to have been made after dark, two of them giving the exact time, 7:15. Three of them speak of the horse which was used as "a bright bay mare."

On two points are all the advocates of Johnny Fry agreed: that he went in the afternoon and that he rode a coal black horse. A careful checking up of the timetable of the first four rides gives us the following information: (1) the first start was made at 7:15 P. M., a time of darkness in early April. (2) The second was made at 4:10 in the afternoon, two of the papers commenting humourously upon the train being on time. (3) The third went at 9:30 P. M. (4) The fourth and all subsequent riders at midnight, the reason for the change in time being that the recipients of eastern mail were thus enabled to telegraph east and receive answers before the western mail was sent out. Therefore if but one afternoon ride was made and *that on April 10th;* and if Johnny Fry rode in bright daylight and was mounted upon a black horse, it becomes evident that his ride was the second and not the first; and it was because he was the only rider the people actually saw, that he is remembered as the first.

Hardly had my report been made to the committee and accepted by them as conclusive in the matter before confirmation began to pour in from unsuspected sources. A Mrs. Lew Smith of Atchison sent in a letter dated April 4, 1860, and written by Mrs. Mahala Liddell of St. Joseph to her sister, Mrs. Sophia Smith, in which this statement occurs: "Henry went down last night to see the pony express start. He said a stranger by the name of Richardson rode the first station." Next came a page torn from a diary, dated April 3, and sent anonymously. It is yellow and brittle with age and the ink is brown and faded, but it contains a full account of the day's event, naming J. W. Richardson as the first rider and saying that it was rumoured that "neighbor Frey's boy" was to ride the next week.

This with other documents seemed to settle the fact that Richardson was the first rider, but little was known of his history until Robert I. Young, a resident of Buchanan County, wrote in to us, giving a full biography of Johnson William Richardson, or "Billy" as he was familiarly known, and saying that the spurs which Richardson wore on that first ride were in the writer's possession. He gave the information that the

riders were chosen by lot and that "Billy" drew number one. In my historical work I have never accepted reminiscence as authoritative, as memory at the best is treacherous, but the information contained in Mr. Young's letter squares so exactly with the documentary evidence we already possessed that it was of great interest, if nothing more.

In the 1923 celebration of the Pony Express Johnson William Richardson will be named officially as the first rider. It is to be hoped that recent historians will revise that portion of their work which relates to this episode. It might be well to state that the documents in proof of this assertion are in the possession of the committee in St. Joseph and those who are interested are at liberty to examine them.

The importance of the establishment of the Pony Express is better understood today than it was in 1860. Observers saw in it then merely a quicker means by which to communicate with their friends in faroff California. Today we recognize it as the forerunner of that marvelous line of transportation connecting east with west, one extreme of the continent with the other. The lonely rider who set forth on his first journey was breaking ground for the railroad, the telegraph, the automobile highway.

A gallant figure, that rider of long ago! Young, for the wise heads of the company, realized that only to daring, reckless youth did such an enterprise appeal! Brave, for there were Indian attacks to be feared, wild beasts to be guarded against! Hardy and enduring, to face the burning heat of the deserts, the cold of the desolate mountain passes; picturesque and romantic in their buckskin jackets, their spurred boots, their pistols thrust through a gaudy sash! For seventeen months these boys journeyed across half the continent, their record achievement being the delivery of Lincoln's inaugural address in seven days and seventeen hours. Then they vanished into the mists of the past and only the sound of their ponies' hoof beats comes echoing down to us through the years. Their brief career forms a theme more fitting for the romancer than the historian, so colorful, so dramatic is it.

A CENTURY OF MISSOURI MUSIC

By ERNST C. KROHN.

PART FIVE

SECTION XIX—MISSOURI'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE OF MUSIC

The State which gave American literature a Mark Twain and a Eugene Field gave to music literature a Henry Theophilus Finck and a Rupert Hughes. Both left Missouri in their youth and entered upon careers which were to place them among the most noted of living writers on music. A member of the staff of the *New York Evening Post* since 1881, Finck has consistently championed the cause of the great modern composers, Chopin, Schumann, Liszt, Wagner, Grieg, Tschaikowsky, Dvorak, and MacDowell. His earliest publication was the "Wagner Handbook for the Festival Concerts given in 1884 under the direction of Theodore Thomas" (Cambridge, 1884, 8 vo., 75 p.). The distinguishing feature of this Handbook was the series of enthusiastic commentaries on the Wagnerian works performed at these concerts. Finck's first publication in book form was "Chopin and Other Musical Essays" (New York, 1889, 12 mo., 273 p.), the "other essays" being "How Composers Work," "Schumann as Mirrored in his Letters," "Music and Morals," "Italian and German Vocal Styles," and "German Opera in New York." His enthusiasm for the cause of Wagner's music resulted in the publication of "Wagner and his Works" (New York, 1893, 2 vols., 8 vo., 990 p.), a work which has become one of the leading works in English on Wagner. Finck also wrote an Introductory Essay to the "Pictorial Wagner" (New York, 1894, 4to, 12 p., 15 pl.), a sumptuous publication reproducing in fifteen splendid photogravure plates Ferdinand Leeke's paintings of Wagnerian subjects. An exhaustive article on "Paderewski and his Art" which appeared in *The Looker-On*

of October, 1895, was reprinted in pamphlet form with the addition of several fine portraits of Paderewski (New York, 1895, 8vo., 48 p.). The sudden death in 1898 of the great orchestral conductor Anton Seidl resulted in a movement to erect some kind of literary monument to his memory. A "Seidl Memorial Volume" was planned with Finck as editor. The published book "Anton Seidl: A Memorial By His Friends" (New York, 1899, 8vo, 259 p.), contained an exhaustive biographical sketch by Finck as well as contributions from the great musicians of both continents. With the personal assistance of Grieg, Finck wrote a biography of that master which was issued in the "Living Masters of Music" series under the title "Edward Grieg" (London, 1906, 8vo, 130 p.). After Grieg's death Finck rewrote and enlarged this work which was then published bearing the title "Grieg and His Music" (New York, 1909, 8vo, 317 p.). Continuing his biographical work, Finck put forth an excellent book on "Massenet and his Operas" (New York, 1910, 12 mo, 245 p.) and a fine work on "Richard Strauss: The Man and his Works" (Boston, 1917, 8vo, 328 p.). A very successful book was "Songs and Song Writers" (New York, 1900, 12mo, 254 p.) a discussion of the composers of the world's finest songs. An eminently practical book was his "Success in Music and How it is Won" (New York, 1909, 8vo, 471 p.) containing a wealth of anecdote and sensible advice. An unique feature of this volume is the remarkable chapter on "Tempo Rubato" written by the master pianist Ignace Jan Paderewski. Finck's most recent publication is the volume entitled "Musical Progress" (Philadelphia, 1923, 12 mo, 422 p.). The wide range of subjects treated in this book is best evidenced by such chapter headings as "Wagner as a Teacher," "Save Beethoven from his Friends," "Musicians Need Plenty of Health," "Earnings and Business Methods of the Great Composers," "Should Music Critics be Abolished," "Futurism and the Noble Contempt of Melody." Finck has edited and written critical introductions to the following song collections: "Fifty Mastersongs," "Fifty Schubert Songs," "Fifty Grieg Songs," and One Hundred Songs by Ten Masters." A vocal score

edition of Wagner's "Parsifal," as well as the four Music Dramas constituting the "Nibelungen Ring," has been similarly edited by Finck. If we add that Finck has supplied his paper with musical criticism since 1881, and that he has been a constant contributor to the standard musical journals, we gain some insight into his industry. This is not all. His versatility is best attested by the titles of his books on non-musical subjects: "Romantic Love and Personal Beauty," 1887, "Primitive Love and Love Stories," 1899, "Food and Flavor,"[1] 1913, "Gardening with Brains," 1922, "The Pacific Coast Scenic Tour," 1890, "Spain and Morocco," 1891, and "Lotus-Time in Japan," 1898.

Rupert Hughes' greatest single contribution to the literature of music has been his book on American Composers. This work was based entirely on original research, Hughes confessing to having read through "at least a ton of American compositions." Treating of the work of every American composer of any consequence whatsoever, Hughes drew immediate attention to the abundance of original talent in our midst. The Missouri composers discussed included Maurice Arnold, Carl Busch, Mrs. Jessie L. Gaynor, Ernest R. Kroeger, Carl Valentine Lachmund, Alfred G. Robyn, Harriet P. Sawyer, William Schuyler, and George Clifford Vieh. Originally published in a series of articles in *Godey's Magazine*, *The Century Magazine*, and *The Criterion*, the work was first published in book form under the title "Contemporary American Composers" (Boston, 1900, 16mo, 456 p.). It was reprinted eight times, later editions bearing the title "Famous American Composers." An augmented edition with additional chapters by Arthur Elson came out in 1914, the title being simply "American Composers" (Boston, 12mo, 582 p.) Another work of Hughes' embodying much original material was his "Love Affairs of Great Musicians" (Boston, 1903, 12mo, 2 vols., 611 p.). More prosaic but no less useful was his encyclopedic compilation "The Musical Guide" (New York,

[1] A new book on food and dieting will appear in the summer of 1923. It will bear the witty title "Girth Control."

1903, 8vo, 2 vols., 1185 p.) which has since been reissued in one volume bearing the title "The Music Lovers' Cyclopedia" (New York, 1913, 8vo, 948 p.). A musical novel "Zal" (1905), and a compilation of original "Songs by Thirty Americans" round out Rupert Hughes' musico-literary work. A constant contributor to the standard magazines, Hughes has become singularly successful as a writer of "movie" scenarios and as a novelist, his latest book being "Within these Walls," a powerful tale of Old New York.

Carl Valentine Lachmund has ready for publication what promises to be the most interesting book on Franz Liszt put forth since James Huneker's "Liszt." Abounding in charmingly intimate glimpses of the great pianist's home life this work will also afford an insight into his work as a teacher. For three years, from 1881 to 1884, Lachmund was a pupil of Liszt's, his fellow students being D'Albert, Rosenthal, Siloti, Friedheim, Sauer, and Reisenauer. During this entire period he kept a diary of his life at Weimar and particularly of his lessons with Liszt. Twenty verbatim lessons with the great master will make Lachmund's book uniquely valuable to all pianists. A mass of other valuable documentary material will lend additional authority to this most valuable contribution to Liszt lore.[2]

The writer of two successful musical novels, "Selma, the Soprano" and "Miserere," Mrs. Mabel Wagnalls-Jones has also published a most interesting book on "Stars of the Opera" (New York, 1898, 12mo, 368 p.). In addition to contributing to the standard musical journals, Mrs. Wagnalls-Jones was editor for musical terms of Funk & Wagnalls' "New Standard Dictionary." It is rumored that her latest novel "The Rose Bush of a Thousand Years" will form the basis of an Opera to be written by a well known American composer. The screen version of this book under the title "Revelation" formed one of Nazimova's greatest motion picture triumphs.

Prominently identified with the new school of poetry in America, Heinrich Hauer Bellamann has published a vol-

[2]See also *Shadowland*, June, 1923, pages 35-37.

ume of "Poems" and has been a frequent contributor to contemporary magazines of verse, being Associate Editor of *Voices* and *Tempo*. Bellamann has actively championed the cause of French music[3] in this country and has written many articles on this and other subjects for the standard musical journals. His study of "Notable Piano Concertos, Neglected and Otherwise," appeared in *The Musical Quarterly*, October, 1921, and the same journal, issue of April, 1923, presented his "Notes on the New Aesthetic of Poetry and Music."

That genial philosopher, Denton J. Snider, has made music his debtor by the publication of his profoundly comprehensive exposition of the philosophy and psychology of music so ably presented in his book "Music and the Fine Arts" (St. Louis, n. d., 12 mo., 450 p.). Snider's study is distinguished by reason of its striking originality of thought and treatment. A bit removed from the profundity of Snider's thought, but pervaded by a gentle philosophy all its own, is Frances Marion Ralston's booklet "Reflections of a Musician" (Boston, 1920, 16mo., 73 p.).

Of great scientific value are the writings of Max Frederick Meyer, Professor of Psychology at the University of Missouri since 1900. His "Contributions to a Psychological Theory of Music" (1901, 80 p.) formed Number One of the first volume of *The University of Missouri Studies*. Among many valuable articles on psychological acoustics and the psychology of music appearing in German[4] and American scientific journals

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[3]See *Proceedings of the Music Teachers' National Association*, 1918, pages 17-24; also 1922, pages 206-211.

[4]Many of Prof. Meyer's German studies appeared in the *Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane*, "Ueber Kombinationstoene" in volume 11, pages 177-229; "Ueber die Rauhigkeit tiefer Toene," 13:75-80; "Zur Theorie der Differenztoene," 16:1-34; "Ueber die Unterschiedsempfindlichkeit fuer Tonhoehen," 16:352-372; "Ueber die Intensitaet der Einzeltoene," 17:1-14; "Ueber Tonverschmelzung," 17:401-421 and 18: 274-293; "Ueber die Reinheit konsonanter Intervalle," 18:321-404; "Ueber Beurteilung zusammengesetzter Klaenge," 20:13-33; "Zur Theorie der Geraeuschempfindungen," 31:233-247; "Zur Theorie japanischer Musik," 33:289-306. "Die Tonpsychologie, ihre bisherige Entwicklung und ihre Bedeutung fuer die musikalische Paedagogik" appeared in the *Zeitschrift fuer paedagogische Psycho'ogie*, volume 1, pages 74-85, 180-189, 245-254.

may be mentioned "Experimental Studies in the Psychology of Music,"[5] "Elements of a Psychological Theory of Melody,"[6] "Is the Memory of Absolute Pitch capable of Development by Training?"[7] "Some Points of Difference Concerning the Theory of Music,"[8] "Unscientific Methods in Musical Aesthetics,"[9] and "The Harmonization of the Ethnic Scales."[10] In 1907 "An Introduction to the Mechanics of the Inner Ear" (140 p.) was issued in the series of *University of Missouri Studies*. At present Professor Meyer is doing experimental work preparatory to the conducting of tests for the discovery of "native abilities essential for success in various branches of musicianship." He is also engaged in the construction of a reed organ with twenty-four equally tempered tones to the octave.

The study of Folk Song in America has yielded a rich harvest in recent years. Highly significant has been the increased attention paid to the musical side of the subject, for folk songs are really sung and not merely recited as some literary enthusiasts would have us believe. Professor H. M. Belden of the University of Missouri has instigated the collection of a mass of old English ballads which reveals in striking manner the persistency of balladry in Missouri. Contributions based on the material in his collection have appeared from time to time in *The Journal of American Folklore*.[11] Eight melodies from Professor Belden's collection were printed by Professor G. L. Kittredge in his monograph on "Ballads

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[5] *American Journal of Psychology*, volume 14, pages 192-214.

[6] *Psychological Review*, volume 7, pages 241-273.

[7] *Psychological Review*, volume 6, pages 514-516.

[8] *Psychological Review*, volume 10, pages 534-550.

[9] *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*, volume 1, pages 707-715.

[10] *Proceedings of the Music Teachers' National Association*, 1911, pages 156-168.

[11] "Old Country Ballads in Missouri" in volume 19, pages 231 and 281; "Three Old Ballads from Missouri," 23:429-; "Five Old Country Ballads," 25:171-; "Balladry in America," 25:1-; "The Relation of Balladry to Folklore," 24:1-. See also "A Partial List of Ballads and other Popular Poetry known in Missouri," 2nd edition, 1910 (Missouri Folk-Lore Society); "Folk Song in Missouri" in *Archiv fuer das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literatur*, volume 119, page 430-.

and Songs."[12] Twenty-nine tunes were published in Mrs. L. D. Ames' study of "The Missouri Play-Party."[13] Devoting their attention to another phase of American folk music, Mrs. Stella May Hill and Mrs. Jessie L. Gaynor had in preparation a "Collection of Negro Folk Songs" which remained unfinished in consequence of Mrs. Gaynor's death.

A musical scientist, or to use the modern term, a musicologist of great promise is Julius Gold. An enthusiastic disciple of the master harmonist Bernhard Ziehn, Gold has written a number of articles on Ziehn's harmonic theories.[14] He has also contributed a "Note on Early Elizabethan Stage Music" to *The Musical Antiquary*.[15] In 1920 he commenced publication of an unique musical journal *Tradition*,[16] of which unfortunately only two issues appeared. But Gold's *magnum opus* still lies in the future. For ten years he has been collecting material for a "Music Dictionary based on sound, scientific principles, a work that will indicate the approved spelling, division, pronounciation, meaning, and derivation of the terms used in music, including historical and technical observations, a work specially designed to favor the scientific investigator in the field of musical inquiry, and to afford the general reader and writer a complete and trustworthy guide." Gold's dictionary when published will be an invaluable addition to music literature. A dictionary of another kind was patiently carried through sixteen years of tedious labor to ultimate publication by John Towers.[17] His

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[12]In *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, volume 30, pages 283-369. The tunes appear on pages 287, 290, 314, 320, 327, 339, 345, and 362.

[13]*The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, volume 24, pages 295-318.

[14]"Bernhard Ziehn's Contributions to the Science of Music" in *The Musical Courier*, July 1, 1914.

[15]In volume 2, page 182.

[16]January and February, 1920. Published at San Francisco, California.

[17]Although the first fifty-four years of Towers' life were spent in England, he is included here because his life-work, the "Dictionary," was completed during the period of his St. Louis activity. His published books include "Chorister Life" (Brighton), "Catechism of Music" (Manchester), and "Woman in Music" (New York). He had in manuscript a "Life of Beethoven," a "Sketch of the Musical Bibliography of Great Britain," and "Some 91,000 Birthday Dates of Living and Dead Musicians." He composed two piano pieces, a song, six hymn tunes, and a vocal trio "The Earth."

"Dictionary—Catalogue of Operas and Operettas which have been performed on the Public Stage" (Morgantown, 1910, 8 vo., 1046 p.), in spite of its defects, will ever be a useful handbook and will remain a monument to the man who single-handed attempted to conquer the limitless field of operatic production. An "Encyclopedia of Musical Education" seems to have been compiled by Robert Goldbeck and published in three volumes, presumably at London, in 1903.

Historical studies are not as numerous as might be expected. Henry E. Schultze wrote the article on "Music in Kansas City," published in the "Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri." Appearing in the same work as well as in the "Encylopedia of the History of St. Louis" is August Waldauer's sketch of "Music in St. Louis." The chapter on "Music and Musicians" in Scharf's "History of St. Louis" was based on the reminiscences of William Robyn. Richard Spamer's paper on "The History of Music in St. Louis" was printed in the "Proceedings of the Music Teachers' National Association for 1918." Many more similar essays might be mentioned to which however the term "historical studies" could only be applied by extreme courtesy.

A textbook on "Harmony" may not be literature b t it is as necessary to the writing of good music as a "Grammar" is to the writing of correct English. Robert Goldbeck prepared an excellent treatise on Harmony, or as the title has it "The Art and Science of Music in Three Parts, followed by The Musical Science Primer in Fifty-three lessons" (St. Louis, 1881, 12mo., 242 and 63 pp.). Ernst I. Erbe is about to publish a modern "Manual of Harmony and Counterpoint." Robert W. Major and Arthur J. Davis have in manuscript comprehensive courses in "Harmony," and a "Course in Keyboard Harmony" has been prepared by Frances Marion Ralston. "Keyboard Harmony and Transposition" is the title of a successful series of texts by Mrs. Anna Heuermann Hamilton, who has also put forth an elementary text "Music Foundation," and an interesting course in "Composition for Beginners." Preliminary to any theoretical course for chil-

dren is Mrs. Gaynor's text "The Elements of Musical Expression."

A very detailed "Textbook on the Leschetizky Method" has been prepared by Mrs. Grace Hamilton Morrey. This unpublished treatise on piano playing is the result of several years' study with the great Viennese master. "Phrasing for the Piano" forms the theme of a manuscript volume by Robert W. Major. A very valuable "Study of the Hand" has been published by Edward A. Schubert, and supplementary material is contained in his "Physical Culture Course of Study for the Fingers, Hands, and Arms."[18] Thoroughly in accord with modern ideas of tone production, William L. Calhoun has written a number of extremely interesting papers on piano playing. Of particular interest are "Some Modern Theories of Tone Production in Piano Playing,"[19] "Comparative Piano Methods,"[20] "The Visual Element in Piano Playing,"[21] "The Rationale of Bach Study,"[22] and "A Reasonable Arrangement of a Course of Piano Study."[23] From a number of thoughtful studies on piano playing by Ernest R. Kroeger, we may cite as representatives the essays on "Methods versus Method"[24] and "The Passing of the Virtuoso."[25] Interesting articles on the art of the pianist have been written by Alice Pettingill, Ottmar Moll, and Frederic Lillebridge, among contemporary teachers. A sound discussion of the problems of the piano teacher is presented in Mrs. Emma Wilkins Gutman's book "Talks with Piano Teachers" (Chicago, 1897, 88 p.).

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[18]See also his paper "The Piano Hand" in *Proceedings of the Music Teachers' National Association, 1918*, pages 157-167.

[19]In *Report of the Missouri Music Teachers' Association, 1916*, pages 29-35; also, rewritten, in *Proceedings of the Music Teachers' National Association, 1918*, pages 136-142.

[20]In *Music*, volume 18, pages 539-550.

[21]In *Report of the Missouri Music Teachers' Association, 1915*, pages 37-40.

[22]In *Report of the Missouri Music Teachers' Association, 1914*, pages 18-21.

[23]In *Report of the Missouri Music Teachers' Association, 1921*, pages 10-16. All of Calhoun's essays have been privately printed in pamphlet form.

[24]In *Proceedings of the Music Teachers' National Association, 1909*, pages 173-178.

[25]In *Proceedings of the Music Teachers' National Association, 1920*, pages 152-157.

Significant articles on the violin have been written by Mrs. Elma Medora Eaton Karr, Elmore Condon, Ellis Levy, Victor Lichtenstein, and Ruthyn Turney. Important phases of Vocal Study have been treated by Horace P. Dibble, Claude L. Fichthorn, William John Hall, Alexander Henneman, Homer Moore, and Edgar Sands Place. The organ has formed the subject of papers by George Enzinger, William J. Hall, Lloyd Morey, and James T. Quarles. Questions of policy in Public School Music have been discussed by M. Teresa Finn, Mrs. Mary Houts Flagg, Eugene Hahnel, and E. L. Coburn. Among musicians who have contributed articles to the standard music journals may be mentioned Carl Busch, Mrs. Margaret Fowler Forbes, Robert Goldbeck, Mrs. Anna Heuermann Hamilton, Hans Harthan, Frank Lester, Waldemar Malmene, Homer Moore, Mrs. Mary M. Schmitz, Theodore Spiering, Mrs. Nellie Strong Stevenson, Paul Tietjens, Mrs. Caroline Holme Walker, Hugo Wolz, and Mrs. Bertha Zollinger.[26]

One of the pioneers in this country of the Braille Point System of writing and reading for the blind, Henry Robyn also published a "Thorough Description of the Braille System for the Reading and Writing of Music" (St. Louis, 1867, 12mo., 48 p.). Robyn was Teacher of Music at the Missouri Institution for the Education of the Blind and it was during his tenure of office at this school that he introduced the Braille System. He invented a press and the Five-Type System which rendered it possible for the blind to set type and print text and music in the Braille point. Robyn is also credited with the compilation of a "Music Dictionary," a book on the "Rudiments of Music," and a textbook on "Thorough Bass."

Well nigh overlooked in this ponderous review was a slender volume of "Stories of the Great Music Masters for Children" (Kansas City, 1917, 16mo., 120 p.) by Mrs. Mary Houtts Flagg. Also very poular with the young student is

[26]Contributors to Missouri music journals are listed in Section XX, "Musical Journalism in Missouri."

Florence Hammon's booklet "Musical Biography in Picture and Rhyme" (St. Louis, 1913.)

Literary effort of another kind is represented in the collection of musical tales by Count N. A. de Vervins published under the title "Musical Mosaic" (St. Louis, 1882, 16mo., 223 p.). A second volume of musical novelettes by the same author "The Abbey of Fontenelles and Other Stories" was issued at Geneva, Wisconsin, in 1883. The fact that most of these stories appeared in *Kunkel's Musical Review* before and after book publication renders it highly probable that "Count de Vervins" was the *nom de plume* of some local writer. More modern in treatment are the musical novels "The Dominant Seventh; a Musical Story" (1890) bp K. E. Clark, and "The Little Fiddler of the Ozarks" (1913) by I. Breckenridge Ellis. The latter volume contains the music as well as the words of "The Ozark Song," an original composition by the author. Although the writer of some twenty novels, Ellis has found time to compose a number of charming songs.

Missouri has produced at least one librettist of distinction in the person of Henry M. Blossom (Jr.), the author of the plays "Checkers," "Miss Philura," and "Baron Trenck." Blossom wrote the text of Victor Herbert's Comic Operas "Mlle. Modiste," "Red Mill," "Eileen," "The Princess Pat "The Only Girl," and "The Velvet Lady." He also wrote the book for "The Man from Cook's," and for Jerome's "A Trip to Washington," Leslie Stuart's "The Slim Princess," Robyn's "All for the Ladies" and "The Yankee Consul." The libretto to Robyn's first operatic attempt "Manette," was written by Mrs. Hannah D. Pittmann, whose later literary productions achieved success.

August Waldauer did not function as a librettist but he did produce a number of popular dramas, most of them translations from the German. The diminutive Maggie Mitchell starred in "Fanchon, the Cricket,"[27] "Little Barefoot," and "The Pearl of Savoy." "Griselda" was an earlier

[27]See also Roden *Later American Plays*, Dunlap Society, 1900, page 112.

work first performed in 1855. Among musicians who have bravely ridden the noble steed Pegasus we may mention Mrs. Mary Houts Flagg whose poetic gift is evidenced in her slight booklet of verse entitled "Wisht I was a Soldier, and other Verses" (Kansas City, 1918). Mrs. Constance Faunt Le Roy Runcie wrote the lyrics to most of her songs and also published a volume of fine "Dramatic and Lyric Poems" (New York, 1887). Mrs. Runcie's literary talent is further displayed in her autobiographical "Divinely Led; or, Robert Owen's Grand-daughter" (New York, 1880 and 1895), and in "A Burning Question" (St. Joseph, 1891).

Picking up the odds and ends of this rambling study we note the "Reminiscences of Chess Birch, the Musical Evangelist" (Hannibal, 1891), which seem to possess some historical interest. Richard S. Poppen offers us the rare spectacle of a musician in the role of political historian. His enthusiasm for Jeffersonian principles led him to compile and publish his handbook on "Thomas Jefferson" (St. Louis, 1898, 12mo, 165 p.), which in addition to a short biography and sketch of the political parties also contained an interesting collection of selections from Jefferson's letters and addresses.

SECTION XX—MUSICAL JOURNALISM IN MISSOURI.

Although Missouri has produced journals of national distinction in other fields, William T. Harris' *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* and William Marion Reedy's *Mirror* may be instanced, it cannot be claimed that this has ever occurred in the field of music. Several ambitious projects have been launched only to come to grief on the Scylla and Charybdis of local apathy and financial mismanagement. What has been attempted deserves recording however, if only on the score of its historical interest.

The earliest periodical musical publication in Missouri seems to have been issued at St. Louis by William and Henry Robyn. Their publication bore the high sounding title *Polyhymnia: A Musical Anthology for the Piano*, published in monthly numbers, of which the first came out in January,

1851. Only three issues seem to be extant,[28] those of January, February, and March, 1851, each number consisting of twelve pages of music with a lithographed title page. The surviving numbers contain one song and eight piano pieces by Henry Robyn, two songs and six piano pieces by William Robyn, a piano piece by J. Schnell, and three anonymous compositions.

The St. Louis music publishers, Compton and Doan, seem to have made the next attempt at establishing a musical magazine. The Carnegie Library at Pittsburgh has a copy of Number Seven of the first volume of *Compton's St. Louis Musical Journal*, the date of issue being March 7, 1868. As this was a monthly magazine the first issue probably appeared in September, 1867. Until more issues of this paper turn up its fate can only be conjectured. According to Doctor Alexander De Menil, it was a three column, sixteen page paper, each issue containing several pages of sheet music. The copy in the Carnegie Library has eight pages of text but no music.

In 1872, the music publishing house of Bollman and Schatzman at St. Louis proposed publication of a new journal. *The Impressario: A Monthly Magazine, Devoted to Music, Literature and Art*, and edited by John W. Butler, first appeared March, 1872. The only file of this paper, so far located,[29] contains all the monthly numbers minus a few torn pages from March, 1872, Volume I, Number 1, to June, 1873, Volume II, Number 4. The first four numbers contained twelve pages of text, the following issues only eight pages with two supplementary pieces of sheet music. This was a very interesting magazine and contained a pleasing variety of reading matter. The first issue presented an excellent paper by Henry Robyn, Teacher of Music at the St. Louis Normal and High Schools, on "Music as an Educational and Refining Medium." Numerous poems, sketches of the great musicians, excellent editorials, and timely articles on music, literature, and art, made this a decidedly worth while journal.

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[28] In the Library of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis.
[29] In the collection of Mr. George Enzinger.

Two notable pianists, Jacob and Charles Kunkel, were destined to found the longest lived Missouri musical magazine. Coming to St. Louis in 1868, they started a music store and began publishing sheet music the very next year. In September, 1878, they issued the first number of *Kunkel's Musical Review*, which was published monthly without break from September, 1878, to January, 1902, and perhaps later. H. Gordon Temple functioned as first editor, his successor being Irenaeus D. Foulon, A. M., LL. B., lawyer and musical amateur. Thomas Hyland seems to have edited the issues beginning with January, 1889, although his name does not appear as editor until the January, 1898, issue. Early issues of the magazine were octavo size, but beginning with Volume Five the numbers were full sheet music size, with twenty pages of reading matter and twenty-four pages of music. During Foulon's editorship the *Review* was a very interesting publication. Occasional articles appeared by such writers as Edward M. Bowman, Adolph E. Kroeger, Robert Goldbeck, Jacob Kunkel, Charles Shattinger, and Ernest R. Kroeger, the editor contributing short poems and writing excellent editorials. After Foulon's retirement the *Review* became more a vehicle for the exploitation of the Kunkel musical publications, the reading matter, chiefly short notes, being reduced to ten pages and the music increased to forty-eight pages. However, an improvement set in with Thomas M. Hyland's actual editorship, the zenith of musico-journalistic achievement being reached in the December, 1899, issue. This number contained timely articles by Homer Moore, Louis Conrath, Charles Galloway, Alexander Henneman, and William D. Armstrong.[30]

In 1873 the eminent composer and pianist, Robert Goldbeck, came to St. Louis. For a short period he was associated with August Waldauer in the management of the Beethoven Conservatory of Music, but eventually opened a

[30]The Library of Congress has Volumes II-VII, the Carnegie Library at Pittsburgh, Volumes I and II, the St. Louis Public Library has Volume III, the author has Volume V-XXII complete. Repeated enquiries at the former publication office to ascertain the exact date of discontinuance of this journal met with no success.

school of his own, the St. Louis College of Music. In order to further his pedagogical aims he planned the publication of a periodical which was to be devoted to a thorough exposition of his teaching methods. The first year's run of this monthly journal was called *Goldbeck's Musical Instructor*,[31] the numbers of which were "devoted to the diffusion of scientific, artistic, technical, and general practical knowledge of the Art of Music." In reality the magazine was a carefully graduated course of instruction in Piano, Voice, and Harmony, published in monthly installments. In addition, each of the last seven numbers contained an original sacred choral composition by Goldbeck. The first number appeared April 15, 1882, the twelfth, March 15, 1883. Beginning with the second volume, April, 1883, the name was changed to *Goldbeck's Musical Art*, [32] the format changing to sheet music size, the previous numbers having been octavo. The issues of the second and third volumes contained many original compositions, vocal, piano, and choral, by Goldbeck. The last number of this unique periodical seems to have been the triple number for January-March, 1885, completing three years. Supplementary to the *Musical Art* was *Goldbeck's Art Critic: or, Musical and General Observer*.[33] This eight page bi-weekly paper ran from October 1, 1884, to February 15, 1885, ten numbers being issued. It contained a great variety of interesting musical data.

In October, 1881, H. A. Rothermel of St. Louis began publishing a monthly known as *Art and Music*. This was more an art journal than a musical one and was removed to Chicago in 1882. Adam Shattinger, the St. Louis music publisher, is credited with the publication of a monthly paper known as *Shattinger's Musical Review*, the first number appearing May, 1882. No issues of this paper seem to have survived the ravages of time. Only three numbers seem to be extant of *The Clef*, [34] a monthly published at St. Louis,

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[31] In the Library of Congress.
[32] In the collection of Miss Adelaide Kalkmann.
[33] In the Library of the author.
[34] In the St. Louis Mercantile Library.

August, September, and October, 1885. This sixteen page paper "devoted to the musical interests of St. Louis" particularly featured the St. Louis Music Hall Opening Festival, October 28 to 31, 1885.

Tipton, Missouri, was the seat of publication of *Preacher and Chorister*, a monthly issued "in the interest of Pulpit and Song Service." Only the May 1, 1889, issue (Volume III, Number 4) is preserved at the Library of Congress. *The Baton: A Monthly Journal*,[35] devoted to Western Music Matters, made its initial appearance at Kansas City, April 1895. This interesting paper seems to have expired in its fourth volume, the last number, apparently, being that of November, 1897.

The year 1895 witnessed the birth, at St. Louis, of *The Herald of Music*.[36] Published by C. F. Kelly, with Henry Spang as editor, this very newsy paper was short-lived, only three numbers appearing, those of July, August, and September, 1897. Spang did not edit the last number, but joining forces with Walter Luhn, started *The Musical News*,[37] the first number coming out September, 1897. This very up-to-date magazine was published regularly for a little over a year, the last number apparently being that of November, 1898 (Volume II, Number 3). Spang edited only two numbers, his place being taken by Waldemar Malmene, musical scholar and litterateur. Later additions to the editorial staff were Alexander Henneman, George Buddeus, and Ernst Krohn (Sr.). Among the contributors may be mentioned Mrs. Kate J. Brainard, Madame Wilhelmine Runge Jancke, and Ernest R. Kroeger. *The Musical News* was really a first-class musical journal, but the way of the musical magazine is hard indeed and to but few is vouchsafed a long lease on life.

The North American Saengerbund, an organization of over one hundred German Male Choral Societies with a membership of approximately three thousand, had been in need of an official journal for some time. In 1901, the German

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[35] In the Kansas City Public Library.
[36] The Library of Congress has Numbers 2 and 3, author has 1 and 3.
[37] In the Library of Congress.

Musical and Literary Publishing Company of St. Louis undertook the publication of such a paper. The first number of this monthly magazine *Das Deutsche Lied*[38] ("The German Song") was issued December, 1901. It was published regularly thereafter until the Great War cut its career short in 1914. The original proprietors were Adam Linck and Charles Leibnitz. Hans Hackel was editor until June, 1909, when Wilhelm Lange became literary director. Adam Linck's death in 1913 made necessary a reorganization of the holding company, which resulted in Hans Hackel's resumption of the editorship. Among the contributors to this very valuable German language journal may be mentioned Adolf Falbisauer, "Edna Fern," H. H. Fick, Hans Hackel, Pedro Ilgen, Edgar Istel, Ernst D. Kargau, Ernst Krohn (Sr.), Wilhelm Lange, Jacob Lenzen, and J. A. Valentine Schmidt. *Das Deutsche Lied* is a mine of historical data pertaining to a much neglected phase of America's musical evolution, that is, the intensive cultivation of the treasures of German Folk Song by male choral organizations throughout the United States.

Springfield, Missouri, was the birthplace of a rather short-lived paper known as *The Musical Student.* The Library of Congress has only the July, 1905, December, 1905, and March, 1906 (Volume I, Numbers 5, 6, 7) issues of this presumably quarterly magazine. In 1913, the Kansas City Musical Club began the publication of *The Musical Bulletin.*[39] At first merely a record of the club activities, in its fourth year it blossomed out into a full-fledged magazine. Its editors have been Eleanor Beardsley (1913-14), Elma Medora Eaton (1914-16), Mrs. W. J. Ouseley (1916-17), Pearl J. Weidman (1917-18), Mrs. Halbert White (1918-19), Mrs. Harold Hays (1920), and Mrs. James A. Ryan (1921). Among the contributors to this live-wire periodical we may mention Carl Busch, Charles Wakefield Cadman, Mrs. Jessie L. Gaynor, Ernest R. Kroeger, Thurlow Lieurance, Peter C. Lutkin, William Shakespeare, and Carl Venth.

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[38]Incomplete file in the Library of the author.
[39]In the Kansas City Public Library.

To Laura Valworth Lull of Kansas City belongs the credit of having conceived and actually published for two years the finest musical journal ever put forth in Missouri. The first volume of *The Clef*, [40] comprising the issues November, 1913, to October, 1914, is a splendidly edited and beautifully printed journal. Two-color printing was dispensed with in volume two, and beginning with the third volume the size was reduced from folio to octavo. In this format the magazine has continued to appear, although somewhat irregularly, up to date, the September, 1922, issue being Number Fourteen of Volume Seven. Recently the title of this periodical has been changed to *Point of View*, indicating its transition from an exclusively musical view point to a more general point of view embracing music, art, drama, and travel. *The Clef* covered music in the West in a most thorough manner. With State Editors for Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, and Texas, and a competent staff of Eastern and foreign correspondents, the news service was more than satisfactory. The contributors to this excellent journal included Lucius Ades, Charles Claflin Allen, Edgar P. Allen, Catherine Bamman, Mrs. Anna Craig Bates, Ernest L. Briggs, Robert H. Brown, Charles H. Cease, Walter Damrosch, Dr. Frederick A. Delano, George Enzinger, Arthur Farwell, Dr. Edward B. Fleck, Mrs. Ora Lightner Frost, C. Francois Giard, Percy Grainger, Glenn Dillard Gunn, Mrs. Addie Yeargain Hall, William John Hall, Mrs. Anna Heuermann Hamilton, Mrs. Nora Babbitt Harsh, Frederic Lillebridge, Dr. T. S. Lovette, Peter C. Lutkin, G. N. Malm, David Mannes, John Jacobs Merrill, Homer Moore, Wort S. Morse, Edward Patton, A. Owen Penney, Edward Baxter Perry, Arthur Shattuck, Caroll Sherman, Madame Schumann-Heink, Sigmund Spaeth, Helen Ware, and Anna E. Ziegler.

Recent musical periodicals include the *Orchestra News*[41] issued monthly by the St. Louis Symphony Society from

[40] The Kansas City Public Library has the first three volumes, author has incomplete file.

[41] In the library of the author.

October, 1915, to March, 1916. In addition to current symphony news, this excellently printed little magazine contained timely articles by Charles A. Cale, Percival Chubb, E. L. Coburn, A. W. Douglas, Ernest R. Kroeger, Victor Lichtenstein, Oliver F. Richards, and Bruno Strassberger. *The Musical Era*[42] served as a record of the work of the St. Louis Morning Choral Club. Only six numbers seem to have been issued running from November, 1919, to April, 1920. *The Concert Bulletin*[43], of which six issues have appeared each season from 1919 to 1923, is in reality an attractively printed monthly reminder of the concert attractions appearing in St. Louis under the management of Elizabeth Cueny.

The sumptuously printed *Bulletin of the St. Louis Art League*,[44] while not specifically devoted to music, contains enough musical matter to warrant its inclusion among our music journals. The first *Bulletin* appeared early in 1914, subsequent numbers coming out quite irregularly, the last issue apparently, being that of June, 1919 (Volume VI, Number 1). Scattered through the dozen *Bulletins* actually issued are a number of exceedingly valuable essays on music in St. Louis, the contributing writers being Charles Claflin Allen, George Blackman, Arthur E. Bostwick, Paul Brown, E. L. Coburn, Victor Ehling, Arthur J. Gaines, Charles Galloway, Dr. M. A. Goldstein, Guy Golterman, John H. Gundlach, Otto H. Kahn, Ernest R. Kroeger, Albert Lamb, Victor Lichtenstein, George D. Markham, Homer Moore, John Beverly Robinson, Richard Spamer, and Max Zach.

On the score that it is periodically issued, that is once a year, we will include in this record of musical journalism the *Official Report of the Missouri Music Teachers' Association*. A complete set of Reports of the annual meetings held since 1896 is something which simply does not exist. From the incomplete lot at hand[45] it is possible to establish the existence of a number of papers by local musicians, some of which are

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[42] In the St. Louis Public Library.
[43] In the library of the author.
[44] In the St. Louis Public Library.
[45] Author has Reports for 1909, 1912 to 1918, and 1921.

of great merit. There are papers on Piano by W. L. Calhoun, Mrs. J. E. Dowell, Mrs. Anna Heuermann Hamilton, Geneve Lichtenwalter, Edna Lieber, Mrs. D. C. Van Stavern, and Nannie Louise Wright; on Voice, by Gottlieb Federlein, William John Hall, and Homer Moore; on Theory, by Sarah Ellen Barnes, Mrs. Lydia Henninger, and Frederic Lillebridge; on Organ, by George Enzinger and Lawrence W. Robbins; on Violin, by Wort S. Morse; on Teaching, by Mrs. Jessie L. Gaynor, Louise Parker, H. E. Schultze, and Nathan Sacks; on Public School Music, by E. L. Coburn, Eugenia Dussuchal, and M. Teresa Finn; and on a variety of professional topics by William D. Armstrong, Marie Guengerich, Ellis Levy, Mrs. Cora Lyman, Mrs. Narnie Settle, and Mrs. W. D. Steele.

This record of journalistic activity would be incomplete without some reference to the work of the musical critics on the daily press. As a rule a music critic seems to be a newspaper reporter who also happens to be an amateur musician. It must be admitted that some critics have been known to be innocent of even such extensive knowledge of the subject. Be that as it may, musical performances must be reported and wherever a professional musician cannot be induced to write copy, the professional journalist must do the job as best he can. Missouri music critics are more than on a par with their fellow-craftsmen elsewhere. Owing to the paucity of reliable data, it will not be possible to do more than enumerate the writers who have supplied the daily press with criticism. Restricting ourselves to cities of over fifteen thousand inhabitants we note Jean Graham (*News Hergld*) and Alice D. Warden (*Globe*) at Joplin, Margaret Donnelly (*Democrat*) at Sedalia, Birdie Atwood at Springfield, J. B. Jeffries (*Courier-Post*) at Hannibal, and Ada Lyon (*News-Press*) and Emily Stauber (*Gazette*) at St. Joseph. *The Kansas City Star* has had Howard Huselton, D. Austin Latchaw, and Karl Walter on its staff, the present critics being Mrs. Minna K. Powell and John A. Selby (Jr.). George E. Simpson, the composer, was for several years critic for the *Kansas City Journal*, his successor being Mrs. Angeline C. Peek who

served for sixteen years. Francis Davis is critic for the present *Kansas City Journal-Post.*

We know not which St. Louis daily was the pioneer in placing an official music critic on its staff. *The St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, in 1884, made Samuel F. Cary its first regular musical critic. Subsequently this position was most ably filled by Richard Spamer, who confesses to having written "8,125 columns of newspaper criticism beginning in March, 1889, and not missing a day since." *The St. Louis Republic*, now no more, had many able critics, among them Frederick H. Sterbenz, Homer Moore, and Louis Dodge, the novelist. Richard L. Stokes has for many years been on the staff of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch.* Albert C. Wegman was critic for the *St. Louis Times*, his successor being Harry Burke. Shirley Victor Brooks served in a similar capacity on the staff of the *St. Louis Star*, his successors being James Gould and Ernest L. Colville, the present incumbent. Ernest R. Kroeger has at various periods in his career contributed criticisms to local papers and the same may be said of Victor Lichtenstein who also wrote for *Reedy's Mirror.* William H. Pommer also contributed critical notes to the *Mirror.*

Whenever the "History of Musical Criticism in Missouri" is written some attention will have to be paid to the early papers. The music critic was then an unthought of journalistic possibility and music was appraised in terms directly appealing to the man in the street. Many clever passages might be culled from the entertaining pages of the *St. Louis Reveille* (1845-50), to mention only one of the many early papers whose music critiques were written with literary skill but an absence of musical penetration. To be sure, everything is greatly improved nowadays, but the earlier days were not without their charm.

SECTION XXI—CONCLUDING NOTES.

Some very critical reader may have noticed the fact that certain able musicians who were prominently identified with music in Missouri have been passed over in silence. It

may not be out of place to indicate briefly the facts of their Missouri activity and to account for their non-inclusion in this study of Missouri musicians.

Although Edward Morris Bowman was church organist and teacher in St. Louis from 1867 to 1872 and, after a period of European study, from 1874 to 1887, his subsequent career stamped him a New York musician. However, his most important work the "Manual of Musical Theory" (New York, 1877, 8vo., 288 p.) based on the principles of Carl Friederich Weitzman, was written during the period of his St. Louis activity.

Thomas Carl Whitmer was Director of Music at Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri, from 1899 to 1909. He has since resided at Pittsburgh where he has completed his great work, the Six Spiritual Music Dramas. In addition to numerous compositions in all forms, Whitmer has written extensively for the standard music journals and has published three books, "Symbolisms" (1909), "The Way of my Mind" (1917), and "The Way of my Heart and Mind" (1920).

Reginald Barrett was Organist and Choirmaster at St. Mary's Protestant Episcopal Church, at Kansas City, from 1889 to 1898. Since 1898 he has resided in New York City, where he has written numerous fine choral works and has been equally successful as a composer of songs, and organ and piano pieces. Another gifted musician who returned to New York after a short stay in Kansas City was Ernest F. Jorés. His compositions include a Symphony and many shorter numbers for Orchestra, a Piano Concerto, numerous piano pieces and organ solos, and several songs.

Henry Valentine Stearns was Director of Music at Christian College, Columbia, from 1910 to 1914. Since 1919 he has been Dean of Fine Arts at Washburn College, Topeka, Kansas. In addition to several songs and choral works, Stearns has composed an Overture and a Suite for Orchestra, a String Quartet and a Piano Trio. From 1918 to 1920, Arthur Livingston Manchester was Director of Music at Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri. Manchester has written authoritatively on Music in the College and on Voice Production.

That gifted composer for the organ, Rene Louis Becker was active in St. Louis from 1904 to 1911. Since 1911 he has resided in Illinois. His five Organ Sonatas are masterly works. He has been a prolific writer of piano and organ music and has also composed much choral music for the Catholic service. Becker's brother, Lucien Emile Becker, taught in St. Louis from 1902 to 1907. Since 1910 he has been professionally active in Portland, Oregon. His compositions include a few piano and organ pieces and some church music. William Dawson Armstrong and William Mentor Crosse have both been identified from time to time with music in Missouri but never for a sufficient length of time to warrant their inclusion as Missouri composers. Armstrong is an Illinoisan and Crosse is really a Minnesotan.

In conclusion we must note a few recent arrivals whose period of local residence was not long enough to render advisable their inclusion in the original plan of this study.

Henry Hanson Loudenback has been Director of the Conservatory of Music at Christian College, Columbia, since January, 1918. His compositions include a "Mazurka," "Polonaise," "Sonatina," and "Prelude" for Piano, all in manuscript.

Since 1919, Arthur Edward Johnstone has been executive editor of a musical publication project of national importance located at St. Louis. Johnstone has composed about one thousand melodies published in various school song books. In collaboration with Harvey Worthington Loomis he compiled "The Lyric Music Series" of song books. He has written some music for the piano, has compiled lessons for use with the player piano and has devised a system for teaching music by means of the phonograph. He has published a handbook on "Instruments of the Modern Symphony Orchestra" (New York, 1917, 12 mo., 65 p.). His "Concert Overture" for Organ and Orchestra was performed by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 1915.

Lewis Godfrey Thomas has been associated with Arthur E. Johnstone in an editorial capacity since 1920. Thomas has in manuscript several songs, an Organ Sonata, and an

unfinished light Opera. He has published several piano pieces.

Mrs. Helen Roth Burnett, talented pianist and composer, has been a resident of St. Louis since November, 1919. Her manuscript compositions include a number of striking piano pieces, among them a "Spanish Sketch," "Chant Russe," "Melodie," "Caprice in G," and "Fantasie in G minor." Mrs. Burnett has also written several art songs, "Pierrot," "Nocturne," "Things," "Gifts," and "Birches." She has also composed a book of "Child Songs" to poems by Mrs. Helen Mason Kent. Another very active song writer is Mrs. Anna Craig Bates who came to Missouri in December, 1919. Mrs. Bates' published songs include "Apparitions," "One," "Death Comes Creepin' in de Room," "Light," "To My Valentine," and "Songs in Music Land." Still in manuscript are the songs "A Heart Rhyme," "Contentment," "Dreamland Tree," "If Winter Comes," "Sea Fever," and "Love's Hour."

MISSOURIANS ABROAD—NO. 13.

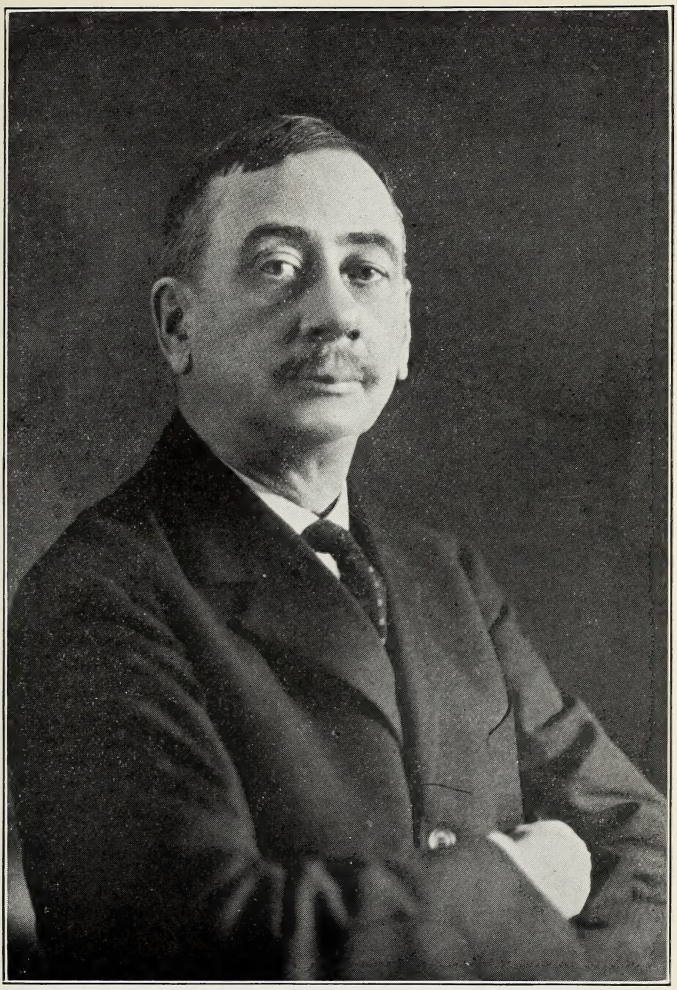
HENRY L. MYERS

BY T. A. JOHNSTON.

America owes a great and lasting debt to her pioneers. They came from the dominant white races of Europe. They belonged to the highest type of those races. They were fond of adventure, insistent on liberty of thought and action, courageous and undaunted by obstacles, devoted to high ideals of religion, morals, and justice, clear thinkers on high subjects, unhampered by authority and tradition, taking nothing for granted till it had been put to the test of experiment and experience. Under the guidance of such men the United States has been uniquely fortunate in its founding, and the development of its institutions, population and wealth.

Of such stock came Henry L. Myers, native of Missouri and ex-senator of the United States from Montana. His ancestors on both sides have lived in the United States for more than two hundred and fifty years. On the paternal side his stock is German; on the maternal, English and Scotch. They gave their full meed of service in ours wars, Revolutionary, 1812, Mexican, and Civil. His maternal grandparents, David and Margaret Adams, were born and married in Bourbon county, Kentucky, and became pioneer settlers in Cooper county, Missouri, on a farm, where their daughter, Maria M. Adams, mother of Henry L. Myers, was born.

Henry M. Myers, his father, was a native of Virginia, born on a farm and bred to that vocation. He migrated to Cooper county, Missouri, in 1840, where he married Maria M. Adams and engaged in farming. Henry L. Myers was born October 9, 1862, on a farm near Boonville. He grew to manhood on a farm and received academic education in private schools of Boonville. He taught country schools several years and studied law at spare times in the law office of Draffen & Williams, in Boonville. He was licensed to practice



Henry L. Myers

law upon examination in open court in the Circuit Court of Cooper county, Missouri. He practiced law and engaged in newspaper work at different times and places in Missouri. In 1893, he moved to Montana and located at Hamilton, county seat of Ravalli county, where he has lived ever since, and enaged in the practice of law. He was elected prosecuting attorney of Ravalli county in 1894, and re-elected in 1896. He was elected state senator in 1898 and served in the state senate four years. He took active part in legislative work and procured the enactment of several measures of importance; served on committees on judiciary, education, agriculture, mining, and railroads. He continued the practice of his profession at Hamilton. In 1907 he was appointed by the governor of Montana judge of the district court of the Fourth Judicial District of Montana, a trial court of general jurisdiction, for a partial term: in 1908 he was elected to same position for a full term and served on the bench four years.

On March 2, 1911, while serving on the bench he was elected, as a compromise resulting from a deadlock, by the Montana Legislature, United States senator for a term of six years, begining March 4, 1911, receiving the vote of every Democratic member of the Legislature. He was sworn in as senator, April 6, 1911. In 1916 he was nominated without opposition by the Democrats of Montana for a second term as United States senator and was elected at the general election that year by majority of about 13,000, receiving the highest vote on the Democratic ticket, next to Woodrow Wilson for president, who led the ticket.

In the United States Senate he served on committees on military affairs, interstate commerce, public lands, Indian affairs, irrigation and reclamation of arid lands, Canadian relations, civil service, and retrenchment. For six years he was chairman of the committee on public lands. He devoted much time to public land legislation and procured enactment of a number of measures relating to settlement of public domain and bettering condition of homesteaders. He took a leading part in procuring enactment of laws, now on statute books,

for building the government railroad in Alaska, leasing coal lands in Alaska, developing water power on public lands of United States, leasing oil and gas lands of public domain. He handled those bills on the floor of Senate. During all of the World War, he was on the Senate Committee on Military Affairs and in close touch with work of the War Department. He voted for preparedness measures, arming our merchant ships, the draft law, and the declaration of war with Germany. He voted for and advocated every measure advanced for preparation for the World War and in prosecution thereof. He supported President Wilson in all measures for the winning of the war and enjoyed close relations with the President. He was an earnest supporter of the Versailles peace treaty and an advocate of the United States entering the League of Nations, without reservations, if possible; with reservations, if necessary to get in. He voted for woman's suffrage and for national prohibition. He voted for ratification of President Harding's Four Power Peace Treaty. He was author of the bill for Sunday observance in the District of Columbia and the bill for censorship of motion pictures. He favored equal rights for all and special privileges for none. He opposed undue aggressions of both capital and labor and advocated curbing of each with a firm hand when inimical to the general welfare. He voted for the Esch-Cummins railroad law; voted against a soldier cash bonus bill; denounced in the Senate attempts to unionize the police forces of the country; denounced the Herrin, Illinois, massacre of non-union miners; frequently denounced efforts of disloyalists and bolshevists to undermine the government of this country.

He was delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, in 1912. In politics he is a Democrat but puts country above party when he deems occasion requires. In 1920, the Non-Partisan League and radical farmer-labor elements captured the Democratic party in Montana and nominated a state ticket of their kind on a socialistic platform. Senator Myers repudiated it, with several thousand other Democrats, in a statewide movement, and stumped the state for Cox for president and the Republican state

ticket, the latter being elected. He has consistently stood for stable, constitutional government and against socialistic tendencies.

When the end of his second term in the Senate approached, he declined to be a candidate for reelection, and issued the following statement to the people of Montana announcing his determination and reviewing briefly the manner in which he had discharged the trust committed to him.

"During the last several weeks, I have received from Montana many inquiries if I would be a candidate for reelection, and I feel the time to answer them has come. Many Montana people have urged me to be a candidate and offered their support for all of which I am deeply grateful.

"I have given the matter careful consideration, and I have decided not to be a candidate. Upon the expiration of my term my plan is to return to Montana and to endeavor to reestablish myself in the practice of law.

"Here this announcement might appropriately end, but I take this occasion to thank my friends who have remained steadfast. Their loyalty is deeply appreciated, and I hope my record merits it. If not, it is not because of lack of effort on my part.

"For more than 11 years I have tried to serve faithfully the people of Montana and their best interests. During that time I have given them the best and all there was in me. I have ever been at their service. I have sought service, not publicity; results, not credit. The work has been hard and wearing, and there have been very few days, when not prevented by illness, when I was not at my post, working long hours.

"In matters not political I have ever endeavored to give prompt, faithful, courteous attention to everything in which my aid was sought by any constituent—Democrat, Republican, Socialist—those of any politics and those of none. In such matters I have known no politics, factions, or past differences, but have tried to serve all alike. It has been a pleasure to me to do so. No one has appealed to me for aid in any legitimate matter whose appeal has been ignored.

"In political matters I have nearly always voted with the majority of my party. During both of President Wilson's terms, with one exception, I heartily supported all of his administration measures. For eight years, with one exception, I voted to confirm every nomination to office made by him. During the World War, from start to finish, I ardently supported him in all measures for the prosecution of the war and in preparation therefor. I unwaveringly followed him, as our leader, throughout that great conflict. After the cessation of hostilities I earnestly supported him in his efforts to have us enter the League of Nations, which I sincerely favored.

"Since President Harding's induction into office on administration measures upon which my party divided I have voted to uphold him when I thought it to the interest of my country to do so, otherwise not. Generally, when I did so, I was in company with Senator Underwood, Democratic leader of the Senate. I put but three things above my party—they are the Constitution, my conscience, the welfare of my country and State.

"Realizing the desperate plight of agriculture since the World War, I have voted for every measure for the benefit of farmers which has come before the Senate. I have supported many measures for the benefit of labor. I have voted for all measures for the benefit of disabled former service men, for whom the Government is now expending $1,000,000 a day, for all of which I voted. I have voted for all measures to promote good morals and clean living.

"I have not during either my first or second term in the Senate taken any stand or given utterance to sentiments or cast votes or made promises with a view to advancing my political fortunes or procuring reelection. My only aim has been to do what I thought right; my only guide has been my conscience. I have tried always to do my duty, be the consequences what they might. I know some things I have done have not been popular. I have not sought popularity. I realize I have not pleased all. I have not tried to do so. However, I have done my best, according to my sense of duty.

"I hope I may be succeeded by some one who will serve the people of Montana and of the country as diligently and faithfully as I have tried in my humble way to do, and who will do so more successfully and effectively. I hope the Democrats of Montana may nominate for my successor some one who may be acceptable to the party and who may be worthy of receiving the votes of a majority of the voters of Montana.

"When I shall return to the people of Montana the trust with which they have twice graciously honored me, I hope and expect to do so without having brought upon it discredit by any act of mine. I have broken no promises. I have given conscientious if not valuable service.

"I was here at my post the first day of my first term, upon the convening of Congress, and I expect to be here the last day of my present term. Meantime I shall continue to serve my constituents as heretofore. Thereafter, to such law business as I may be fortunate enough to get I expect to give the same degree of attention, diligence, and fidelity I have tried to give to public business.

"In conclusion, I thank the good people of Montana for all they have done for me and thank the Democrats of Montana for the honors they have conferred upon me. May the blessings of Providence rest upon Montana."

His reasons for declining again to be a candidate were (1) that the senatorship is a rich man's game, requiring more money to obtain and hold the position against opposing

interests than a man of moderate means can afford; and (2) that a decent regard for his family and his own advancing age required him to turn his attention to the acquisition of a competence and a permanent home.

When the foregoing record is considered, of well rounded, efficient, and honorable public service rendered by a man with limited advantages of education, family, and social connections, there is reason to have renewed confidence in our institutions and race and, especailly, in the hardy pioneer stock from which our subject came. A nation chiefly needs men, and the career under consideration proves there need be no apprehension of the supply running short.

Senator Myers was married in 1896 to Miss Nora Doran of Hamilton, Montana. They have one child, Mary A. Myers. He is a Presbyterian, Mason, Elk, and Knight of Pythias.

THE NEW JOURNALISM IN MISSOURI

By Walter B. Stevens

SECOND ARTICLE

THE PASSING OF THE REPUBLIC.

Before the *Globe-Democrat* had finished its second year the new journalism in Missouri began to attract country-wide attention. At the close of 1875, the *Springfield*, Massachusetts, *Republican*, then ranking high as newspaper authority in the East, said:

"Whatever may be thought of the *Globe-Democrat's* peculiar tactics, politically or otherwise, there is no gainsaying the fact that it is a first-class newspaper and popular with the masses."

The Globe-Democrat copied this, and commented:

" 'A first class newspaper and popular with the masses' is the highest praise that can be given any journal; and as long as our contemporaries render this verdict in our favor, they are welcome to their own estimate of all the rest. On these hang all the law and the profits."

The compliments on the new journalism in Missouri became a national chorus, affording the basis for such paragraphs as this:

"It is not often that the *New York Herald* condescends to a favorable notice of a contemporary, especially in the West. But this fact from its columns of the 6th inst. is the more flattering to us: 'St. Louis is every day interested in the column of paragraphs in the *Globe-Democrat*, which in every department is one of the spiciest papers west of the Alleghanies.' "

There was method in this policy of making prominent all notices commendatory of the paper. While readers were daily impressed with what was said in praise of the *Globe-Democrat*, Mr. McCullagh kept up an incessant but not monotonous belittling of the *Republican*. Rarely an issue of

the *Globe-Democrat* went to the public without paragraphs in the tone of these:

"*The Missouri Republican* prints a fac-simile of its progenitor, the *Missouri Gazette*, first issued in 1808. So far as we can discover, it has not materially degenerated. It is nearly as good a newspaper as it was then."

"*The Republican* is becoming a journalistic double-ender, so to speak. The man who controls the eighth page made fun of White and Bliss (the revivalists) on Monday, and the man who controls the fourth page felt in duty bound to make the amende on Wednesday. Too many cooks do not more inevitably spoil the broth than do too many 'responsible' editors spoil a newspaper. We have a whole army of professional wits on the *Globe-Democrat* but we do not allow any of them to exercise their marvelous faculties at the expense of Christian ministers of any sect or denomination whatever."

"*The Republican* took the city advertising not so much for the money there is in it, as for the purpose of giving a little spice and liveliness to its columns. An ordinance for the paving of an alley reads like a soul-stirring sensation in contrast with the average *Republican* editorial."

"A correspondent inquires what we will pay for 'original stories—such, for instance, as are published in the Sunday *Republican*.' Three cents a pound."

"*The Republican* will not, we understand, be represented in the reporters' walking match Saturday night. We regret this because we have been anxious to see whether the *Republican* people have any ability below the shoulders, after having so often demonstrated their feebleness above the shoulders. Rather than keep them out, we hope the boys from the other papers will let a few of them compete on velocipedes. We will back the *Globe-Democrat* on foot against the *Republican* on either a velocipede or a locomotive."

"In our biographical notice of Professor Haldeman, in yesterday's paper, we made mention of the professor's discovery of the scalithus incaris, the oldest specimen of fossil life. It is older than the *Republican*, but not more completely fossilized."

"The movement for putting the telegraph wires underground is most strongly agitated by the paper that uses the telegraph least. If there was nobody in St. Louis to make more liberal use of the telegraph than the *Republican* does, the streets would not be seriously obstructed by wires."

"Colonel George Knapp testified in the Times suit yesterday that he considered the *Republican* a better newspaper than the *Globe-Democrat*. Who would have thought that Colonel George would develop into a humorist in his old days?"

"*The Republican*, in its prospectus for 1881, announces the present as 'an era of marvelous intellectual activity.' The assertion cannot be proved from the *Republican's* columns, though."

"We will pay a round sum to any man who will give us the secret, which the *Republican* seems to possess, of publishing the dullest newspaper in America. Put every man in our office under the influence of opium for a month, and the *Globe-Democrat* would still be a marvel of animation compared with the *Republican*."

In pronouncing the *Republican* dull, Mr. McCullagh was conveying in type what in later years the cartoonist has made effective in pictures. He employed exaggeration to first amuse and then impress the reader. There was no doubt the method had its influence. *The Republican* had the largest and best paid staff. In his thirty years' service at that time with the *Republican*, William Hyde had advanced through all of the grades from reporter to managing editor-in-chief. He was a man of splendid physical appearance, of Revolutionary stock, descended from highly educated New York parents and was, himself, college-bred. Daniel M. Grissom, who wrote "the leaders," had been among the foremost editorial writers in the West for a third of a century. He, too, was university educated and wrote in a virile, lucid style. Thomas Dimmock, of Massachusetts birth, had matured in the literary circle of Alton which was recognized, before the Civil war, as a seat of advanced culture in the West. There had been a period when letters from the East came addressed to "St. Louis near Alton." Dimmock wrote and lectured. As a literary authority he had national reputation. Thomas E. Garrett was the best known and most respected dramatic critic in the Mississippi Valley. William H. Swift had given the financial and commercial department of the *Republican* high standing. He was a born newsgatherer, but couldn't refrain from mixing in politics. David H. MacAdam, the city editor, was a man of fine education and polished manners. Frank R. O'Neil was the star reporter of St. Louis. Clarence Howell and Stanley Waterloo were University of Michigan men with unusual talents for newspaper work. James A. Dacus was a walking encyclopaedia. William Marion Reedy

was the kid of the *Republican* staff, slender, bright-eyed and laughing—spending every waking hour when off duty devouring the contents of the shelves of the Public School library in the old Polytechnic building at Seventh and Chestnut streets. The close of the decade, 1870-1880, found William A. Kelsoe and William Vincent Byars added to the *Republican's* strong local staff.

The St. Louis Republican of 1870—1880 acknowledged no competition. Seeming secure in its vantage ground it ignored, as a rule, its local contemporaries. There was seldom exchange of courtesies that came to be considered professionally proper at later date. William Hyde and Joseph B. McCullagh had known each other as reporters before the Civil war and had been friendly. After McCullagh died, Mr. Hyde said: "We were good friends but when I was editor of the *Republican*, Mr. Knapp on my side and Mr. McKee on his did not think it the wisest thing for us to be too intimate and so we drifted apart to some extent for business reasons." That illustrated the spirit that prevailed. *Republican* reporters did not join the press club. If one of them obtained the only copy of a speech, a set of resolutions, a document, he could give no assurance that proofs would be furnished the other papers. Frank R. O'Neil one day found it necessary to hire a carriage and make a journey into St. Louis county for a piece of news. He took the same conveyance that carried another reporter and on his return presented a bill for his share of the cost. He was told not to repeat this as it was the policy of the *Republican* to hire carriages when necessary for the exclusive use of its reporters.

The Republican had to its credit a long series of news exploits. In the days of stage coaches, it had repeatedly beaten envious contemporaries by giving first publication in the West to the President's message to Congress. While William Hyde was a reporter he made a perilous, long distance balloon voyage which was the talk of the whole country. From time to time the *Republican* established special courier service to bring the news of some expected event to the nearest telegraph station. The most notable case was at the begin-

ning of the Presidential campaign of 1860 when, following the split of the Democratic National convention at Charleston, South Carolina, there was intense interest to know whether the Missouri state nominees would declare for Douglas and the northern wing of the Democratic party, or be loyal to the southern wing. *The Republican* sent a demand to Claiborne F. Jackson, Democratic nominee for governor, to come out for Douglas. Jackson did so in a public address on the courthouse square at Fayette, but three hours before the speech was made Reporter Hyde had started the news by a negro boy on a fast horse over the turnpike to Boonville whence it was wired to St. Louis and put on the bulletin board of the *Republican*. The most important political event of that year, to Missourians, was being read in St. Louis before it was heard in Fayette.

Features of the *Republican* in the days of its ascendancy were the weekly letters from the best correspondents in New York and in European capitals. The paper spent money freely but according to its own oldtime theories of newspaper enterprise. It took pride in a reputation for not employing cheap men. When George Brown, just arrived from England, and seeking a position, had given satisfaction on a trial assignment in reporting a sermon, Mr. Hyde asked him what salary he expected. Brown figured closely on what would give him a bare living.

"We don't pay twelve-dollar salaries on the *Republican*," replied Mr. Hyde. "You can start at twenty-five dollars a week."

As Brown showed his capacity for work and his expertness as a stenographer he was advanced to forty dollars a week.

The tragedy of the new journalism in Missouri was the passing of the *St. Louis Republic*. When the *Globe-Democrat* began to forge ahead, near the close of the decade 1870-1880, the *St. Louis Republican* was presumably far in the lead. It had long held first place in St. Louis journalism. It conceded nothing to Cincinnati papers and only acknowledged rivalry by the *Chicago Times*. There was with the *Republican*

the prestige of generations of success. Newspapers had come to fill long-felt wants, and had passed to the limbo of printing—scores of them. *The Republican*, dating back to 1808, had survived conflagration and panic. It was called fondly by its constituency "the old reliable." It had attained the largest dimensions of any paper in the Mississippi Valley, and with two exceptions, was larger than any other paper in the United States. It had brought fortunes to several families. It had controlled repeatedly in Missouri politics. It had named nominees. It had built one of the most imposing newspaper structures in the country—a five-story iron front. In the press-room was installed a plant embracing the latest inventions at a cost of $100,000. This included one of the Walter presses of the *London Times*. The plant had the capacity of turning out 30,000 copies an hour, which was going some in 1875.

In "Missouri and Missourians" Floyd C. Shoemaker divides Missouri journalism into three parts. The first part from 1808 to 1850 he says was characterized by two features—"little mechanical equipment" and "emphasis on ideas rather than on news."

The second part, 1850 to 1880, brought "the introduction of modern machinery" and "the rise of real 'news' papers."

The third period, from 1880 down to the present, has strengthened and broadened into permanence the new journalism in Missouri, Mr. Shoemaker points out, leading logically to "the first school of journalism in the world" founded in 1908 by a native born Missouri editor, Dr. Walter Williams. Instruction in journalism is now a part of the curriculum in several Missouri institutions.

The Republican, without a peer in the first period of Missouri journalism, entered the second period with "the introduction of modern machinery" on an elaborate plan, but lagged in the contest of newsgathering until it had fallen back to second place. It never regained the lead.

The proof of the new journalism in Missouri was in the reading of it. Repeatedly the *Globe-Democrat* boasted of its increasing popularity among Democratic readers. That was in the period of strong partizan feeling. The Civil war

memories were fresh. "The bloody shirt" was waved in every campaign. There came a time when the *Globe-Democrat* claimed to have more Democratic readers in Missouri than the *Republican* had. It was probably true. Many of the editors of Democratic papers in the Southwest were correspondents of the *Globe-Democrat*, supplying the news telegrams. Among the Snyder papers in the Missouri Historical Society is a letter from Return I. Holcombe to Snyder, which illustrates this relationship between the new journalism and the Democratic writers and readers. Holcombe had been the editor of a Democratic newspaper. He was of the strictest sect. He took up the compilation of histories of Missouri counties and devoted himself for several years to travel about the state, assembling material from original sources. At the same time he wrote for the *Globe-Democrat* historical letters over the signature of Burr Joyce. These letters are scattered through the late eighties and early nineties and constitute some of the most valuable contributions to Missouri history. This is what Major Holcombe wrote to his friend, Dr. John F. Snyder:

"I enclose one of my articles to the G.-D. My letters are in the Saturday or Sunday editions, but don't appear every week, for I haven't time to write them. I wish you would write for the G-D. an account of the Osawatomie fight (spell it as I have written), for I know it will be good, and you will be paid for it, too. Let us 'forage on the enemy' while we can.

"*The Globe-Democrat* is a 'nasty sheet' politically, and the man who reads and endorses its editoral page must be very depraved. But the managing editor, McCullagh—who seldom writes a line for it—is very enterprising and pushing and has made it a great paper in many respects. It has nearly double the circulation of the *Republican* and ten times the liberality. I have written fifty columns for the *Republican* and never got a cent for them—didn't ask it, of course. Last summer, under certain circumstances, I sent a short article to the G-D., not expecting or desiring anything for it, and they sent me $10, and Mr. McC. said he would pay me $10 a column for all similar articles. Since then I have written a number of articles and have been well paid. Of course they are all such as an Orthodox Democrat may write—chiefly on historic incidents in Missouri. I would much prefer to write for the *Republican*, but when the G.-D. pays me so well I have to work for it. I find that the work makes a nice addition to my slender income, and it's nice to 'forage on the enemy'. I shall

get my politics from the *Republican* but my news from the G-D. and *Kansas City Times.*"

It is tradition that a newspaper man, with the rashness of youth, went to the *Republican* management about 1880 with a plan for changes of policy which might give the paper a standing in the new journalism in Missouri. The advice was declined without thanks, indeed curtly. The *Republican* continued on its dignified course but not upward in prosperity. In locating the new and costly home at Third and Chestnut streets the elderly proprietors failed to recognize the westward trend of the city. They contributed largely to the building of the Southern Hotel and to the location of the Merchants' Exchange in the efforts to check the natural trend. They had grown up and had prospered in the steamboat age of St. Louis. The next generation compelled the *Republican* to open "an up town office" on Olive street between Sixth and Seventh streets, and a little later came the removal to Seventh and Olive. If the money spent so liberally in the policy to hold business and preserve values between Fourth street and the river had been applied to "the rise of the 'news' paper," the newspaper history of St. Louis might have been different. Frank R. O'Neil succeeded to the managing editorship but too late to save the prestige. Then came Charles H. Jones with change of name to *The Republic*, and a meteoric career.

To enable Charles W. Knapp to obtain and hold the editorial control David R. Francis bought a block of stock. In 1901 Mr. Francis conferred with Joseph Pulitzer on a proposition to unite the *Republic* and the *Post-Dispatch*. Mr. Pulitzer put the valuation of the *Post-Dispatch* at about $2,000,000.

When Mr. Francis expressed some surprise at this estimate as in his judgment excessive, Mr. Pulitzer argued that the value of a newspaper could be based justly on the earnings through a term of years. Considering these earnings as a percentage of the value Mr. Pulitzer reached his estimate of $2,000,000 for the *Post-Dispatch*. The proposition fell

through. Some time later Mr. Francis invested a considerable sum, about a quarter of a million dollars, in additional stock, giving control of the paper. In his "Recollections" (unpublished) Mr. Francis tells how a free hand was given in the news management. The editorial policy was not dictated. Editor after editor was chosen, men who had been successful elsewhere, in the effort to find some one who could conduct the paper so that it might not fall behind. Nevertheless there was a gradual decline of patronage. It was necessary to suspend dividends in 1912 and they were never renewed. Enormous increase in the price of print paper and other expenses in the World war period caused growing deficits.

"When I came back from Russia, *The Republic* owed me $800,000. The paper was losing money at such a rate it would have broken me if I had kept on advancing. I was compelled to sell to the *Globe-Democrat*."

(To be continued.)

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

TWELFTH ARTICLE.

GUSTAVUS WULFING.

On the great wave of immigrants which came in the year 1835 there was one by the name of Gustavus Wulfing. Through the kindness of this man's grandson, Mr. John Max Wulfing of St. Louis, the writer came into possession of the interesting and valuable diaries and letters which were kept by this early immigrant. These documents will presently be, in part, reproduced in translated form. They constitute an interesting contribution to our account of the men who followed Duden. Before recording these observations and views it seems appropriate that we should become acquainted with the Wulfing family. These data I also received from my generous donor cited above. We read:

"Our family was originally located in Elberfeld, where they had a freehold estate, which is now a part of the city of Barmen. The first document now extant is a tax receipt of the year 1466. The first mayor of the city of Elberfeld was a Peter Wuelfing*, who held the office in 1597. In 1674 the widow of one of our ancestors married a Peter Moll, who was a citizen of Lennep. Her son, Gottfried Wuelfing, established the first woolen factory in that town.

"One of Gottfried Wuelfing's descendants in 1750 started the firm of Wuelfing and Son, which is still in existence under the name of Hardt-Wuelfing, A. G. This Gottfried Wuelfing was the great-grandfather of Gustavus Wuelfing. Our branch of the family became very much impoverished through the Napoleonic Wars.

"Gustavus Wuelfing was born on February 17, 1802, in Lennep; graduated from the local high school about 1820;

*After this family came to America the umlaut on the letter "u" was dropped.

was then employed in a mercantile establishment for a number of years, and in 1830 married Christiane Schmieding of Bielefeld. His father-in-law, who was rather well to do, started Gustavus in the hotel business, but as he was rather quick-tempered, this occupation did not suit him. In 1835 he decided to emigrate to America with his two brothers-in-law, Carl and Fred Schmieding.

"Grandfather's first venture was the purchase of some wild land near what is now Lawrenceburg, Indiana. This was made jointly with his brother-in-law Carl Schmieding and another brother-in-law, Pauck, who had come to America a few years before. Fred Schmieding in the meantime started in business in Cincinnati with a Jew by the name of Lindenheim. My grandfather soon got tired of farming and moved to Cincinnati, 1836-37, from there to Louisville, 1837-1842, and then to St. Louis in 1842. He was fairly successful in business, and was actively interested in a little German school and a liberal German church. Owing to the fact that there were not very many cultured Germans living in St. Louis at that time, and also owing to his rather genial disposition, his home soon became the meeting place of other congenial spirits.

"Gustavus Wulfing died on November 10, 1852, in the same house in which he was born in Lennep, he having returned to his old home for a visit.

"He was extremely accurate and exact in his business methods. He saw to it that his children,* of whom he had three, received a good education, which was not an easy matter at that time, as school facilities were extremely limited in St. Louis as in all western towns. Before going to Europe in 1852 grandfather sold his business to his son-in-law, Henry Gildehaus, who had been his partner since 1847.

"My father, Charles Wulfing, the oldest son of Gustavus Wulfing, was born in Bielefeld in 1832. He went to school in Louisville and St. Louis, taking private lessons in French and

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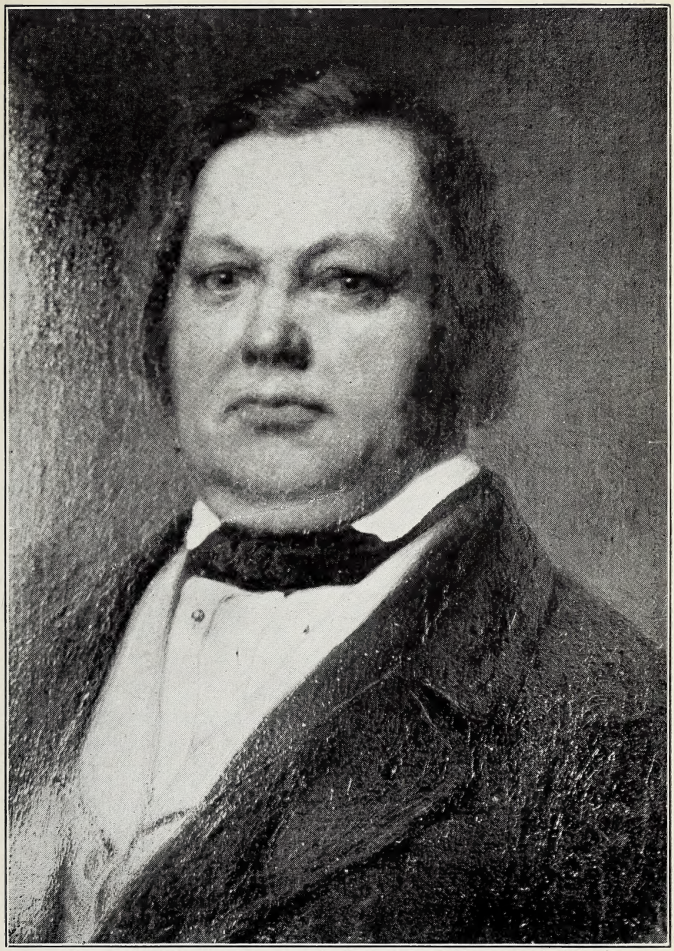
*Mr. Gustavus Wulfing's children are: Mathilde, born March 25, 1831, who married Mr. H. Gildehaus; Charles, born July 7, 1832; Frederick, born May 17, 1834, and died in 1906.



Gustavus Wulfing

German from Mr. A. DeMarle, who became an officer in the Mexican war. At the age of fourteen father left school and took a position in a retail hardware business. After a year and a half he entered the employ of Donaldson & Hall, a wholesale hardware firm. In October, 1849, when barely seventeen years of age, he established a retail and wholesale hardware business in company with his uncle, F. E. Schmieding, under the name of Schmieding and Wulfing. Mr. Schmieding had previously had a drygoods store, which had been destroyed by the great fire of 1849. The venture proved quite successful. It laid the foundation for Mr. Schmieding's fortune, and gave father a good start in life. He had in the meantime kept up his interest in music and literature and language, and in 1856 decided to see the world. Selling out his interest to his partner, he took passage on a Mississippi steamboat to New Orleans, and from there on a sailing vessel to Le Havre. He had chosen a sailing vessel as the more romantic, but the romance was pretty well exhausted before the end of the sixty-three-day trip.

"After spending some time in Paris and making a tour of Switzerland, father proceeded to Lennep, where a sister and numerous cousins of his father still lived. From there he went to Osnabruck, the home of his brother-in-law, and in 1857 married the latter's half-sister, Hermine Dieckriede.

"Returning to St. Louis with his bride in the fall of 1857, and not wishing to become a competitor of his uncle in the hardware business, father decided to go into the wholesale grocery business with his two brothers-in-law, Henry Gildehaus and Charles B. Dieckriede. The original grocery business established by Gustavus Wulfing in 1842 and later on succeeded by the firm of Wulfing and Gildehaus, then Gildehaus and Witte, had been mainly of a retail character. The name of the new firm, H. Gildehaus & Co., continued till 1876, although Mr. Gildehaus died in 1870.

"During the Civil War Mr. Gildehaus as well as my father took an active part in the Home Guards, and were present at the capture of Camp Jackson. Father's only

brother served for three years, and many of his cousins also participated in the war on the Union side.

"Early in 1865 father sent his wife and two children to Germany, following them later in the year. After staying abroad a year they returned to St. Louis where father had retained his interest in the grocery firm. The name of this was changed in 1876 to Wulfing, Dieckriede & Co., and continued as such until 1903 when it became the Wulfing Grocery Co. Since 1913 father has retired from active participation in the business.

"More remarkable than his success in business is the fact that in spite of his commercial activities father has always kept up his interest in intellectual matters. Besides a perfect knowledge of English and German, he reads French easily, and Italian to some extent. This is in a great measure due to his love of travel. Besides the trips mentioned above, he spent two years and a half abroad in 1876 to 1878. During this time he made two trips to Italy, the rest of the time being spent mostly in Germany. Since then he has made numerous trips to Europe, and although he is eighty-seven years of age, he is expecting to visit Germany again.

"During his stay in Germany in 1876 and 77 he took up 'cello playing, and ever since that time has practiced two hours or more every day. Incidentally I may mention that his sister, who is a year older than he, is still active and robust, and all around a remarkable woman."

In spite of Mr. John Max Wulfing's protest I cannot refrain to give some biographic data of him. He is the son of Charles Wulfing; was born Dec. 8, 1859, in St. Louis; attended first school in Osnabruck in 1865; graduated from Academic Department of Washington U. in June 1876; attended Lyceum at Hanover and the Classical Gymnasium at Wiesbaden. Returning to U. S. in Oct. 1878, he spent several months in a retail grocery business; in 1879 he entered his father's employ; with his cousin, Charles Gildehaus, he established, Jan. 1, 1882, the firm of Gildehaus, Wulfing & Co. In 1886 he spent eight months abroad, mainly in Italy. In 1888 he married Miss Lillie Guye, the eldest daughter of August Guye, of the old milling firm of Meyer and Guye. In 1898 he again made a trip to Europe with his wife and four children, visiting Germany, Paris, Brussels, Italy, especially Rome, and Greece. Chief interest outside of business is in archaeology, chiefly the field of numismatics, through which study he has kept up his knowledge of Latin, Greek, French and Italian. Founder of St. Louis Numismatic Society, of which he is president. Also chairman of executive committee of St. Louis Society of the Archaeological Institute, Chairman of Board of Trustees of the Church of the Unity. For

three years Chairman of the Contemporary Club. Lost a son in 1913. Has three daughters all of whom have enjoyed a college education. Has traveled extensively in Europe since the close of the war.

The great bulk of Gustavus Wulfing's diaries and correspondence consists of personal matters, and family or business affairs. Most of the letters were addressed to his mother and sister Julia residing at Lennep, Germany. Those parts which are of general interest are here reproduced. Writing soon after his arrival in Cincinnati he says: "Thursday the 17th of September 1835 at 4:30 A. M. we sailed into the North Sea. Our company was assigned an apartment, separate from the rest, and consisted of thirty-seven persons. The ship in which we sailed is a three mast sail ship of 132 feet length, and is called the Copernikus. There were 203 persons on board. On the 26th of October we landed in New York harbor. We left New York on the 10th of November and arrived here (Cincinnati) on the 4th of December. We were over three months on the way, counting from the time we left our home till we arrived here.

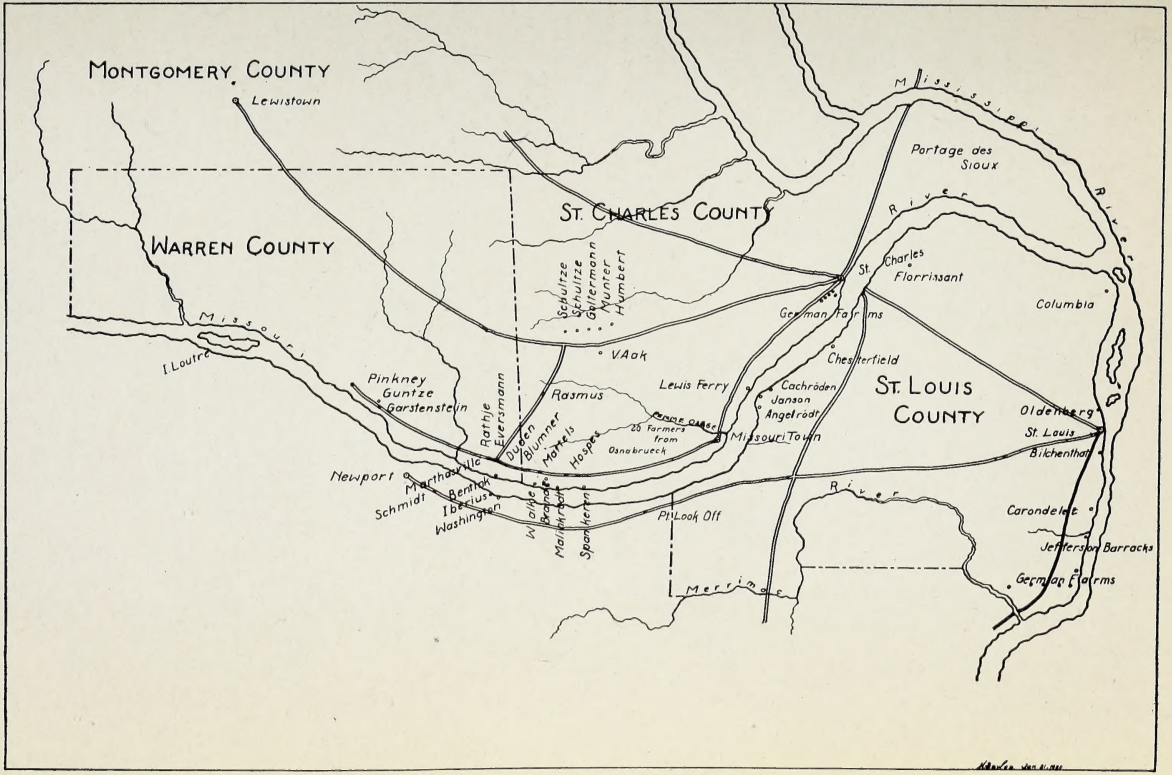
"The rumor is current here that affairs go very badly in Missouri, and that it is very unhealthful there. I am not in a position to judge in this matter. If the report is true, then Duden must be a wicked person and von Martels still more so. Concerning both there are very uncomplimentary reports in circulation. Duden is said to have lived in common law marriage with his housekeeper, and von Martels is said to be drinking too much. * * * * Duden's farm is said to be in poor condition and the buildings delapidated. His place is called "Duden's Hall of Fame." * * * * The author has caused much misery. I believe he will have much to answer for. And yet he has, to my positive knowledge, not uttered any untruths. He depicts this country in a rather picturesque manner. A person, who in Germany has no further prospect than to be a common laborer will not feel disappointed upon coming here, but will feel himself fortunate to be in a country, where he can become independent and often even wealthy. The trouble is, that books such as Duden's and others, often induce persons of other stations of life

to emigrate, and these ought not to undertake such a trip at all."

Under the caption of American Observations, we shall now give a number of items, on vastly different subjects, as they were gleaned from the general correspondence of Mr. Wulfing.

"The city of New York we observed and noted that the city and all the stores as well as the public buildings are illumined with gas."

From Cincinnati he writes: "We have bought some farm land. We call our place Floradale, Charles Schmieding calls his place Oak Grove and Pauck calls his farm Wolf Ravine." A short while after this we read: "I recognized very soon, that I should not make any headway on the farm, that I should not even learn the language and the customs of this country. Therefore I have come to Cincinnati where I have opened a jewelry store." Later we read in his letters from Cincinnati: "The Americans living in the country lay no value on large, beautiful houses, for since from 100 to 500 per cent can be earned with money, they say it is better to invest one's money in business and trade than to put it into buildings. For this reason one often finds farmers who are worth $20,000 and more in property, and still live in log houses of one room.—Altogether life in America is so different from living over there, that I could write a whole book about it, though I have been here only two months.—On the streets of Cincinnati one can often see gentlemen, with white collars and fine black frock and otherwise well dressed, wearing a most delapidated hat full of holes. Such a gentleman goes to the public market, which is open every day, and with which there is connected a public sale of ready made clothes. Here he buys a new hat, and without further ado throws the old one into the air. This discarded hat is usually soon found and appropriated by another man whose hat is in a still worse condition.—The men of the house get the kitchen and cellar supplies from the market for their wives.—If some one wants to sell a horse, he mounts the animal and rides through the streets calling, 'I am offered ten dollars, who will offer me



Where some of the Followers of Duden settled

fifteen, twenty, etc.' If someone offers enough, he rides up to him, delivers the horse, receives the money and goes home. The whole transaction has not cost him a cent.

"Very many Germans live here, and there are German churches and schools.—We belong to the Lutheran church, because the pastor pleases us best. The pastor of the Evangelical church is at the same time a blacksmith and a builder of mills.—Yesterday was Christmas day but the people were working. There is a law which requires that the Sabbath be observed, but holidays are observed only by those who are so inclined. Yesterday the market was open, and today, the second Christmas day, the people are working everywhere. Only the Germans here make an exception to this rule.

"The American farmers make much money. Butter costs 31 cents a pound, and other produce are proportionately equally high.—It is certainly true that one can get along better in this country than in Europe. With a little experience and knowledge of American conditions much money can be made. Only one must heed Duden's advise and not want to attempt great undertakings.

"A theater which operates here at present brings in rich returns. A man bought a boat, arranged it as a theater, and is now presenting performances on the Ohio River, close to the city. The idea is novel. Many people patronize the show. On the water he is exempt from the payment of a license.

"There are packinghouses here that kill 1000 hogs in one day. The meat is packed in barrels and shipped to New Orleans. All things of this kind are carried on on a large scale in America.

"Today is New Years day (1836), and it is not observed as a holiday. We Germans, however, adhere to our old German customs.

"Of all the professional men the pastors and the school teachers fare most poorly in the new world. Ordinarily they get from $200 to $400 a year, and are at the same time not higher in rank than the common artisans. They must be constantly on their guard not to offend, since they are engaged

for the year only, and upon the slightest pretext are dismissed. This is one reason why schools and churches are unused for months at a time.

"There are two German printing companies in this town. Each of them also publishes a German newspaper.—Two German military companies were organized, whose purpose it is to defend the city in case of danger. So for example an uprising took place among the negroes last summer. The leader was shot by the military whereupon his followers scattered.—The newsboy rides on horseback when he delivers his papers and does not even ring the doorbell when he has left the paper.—The bakers deliver their wares in elegant one horse wagons. They never get out but ring a large bell to announce their arrival, whereupon the housewife goes to the wagon to purchase her supplies."

In April 1837 Mr. Wulfing moved to Louisville from there the following items were written.

"Scarcely an hour passes by during which a steamboat is not seen coming up or going down the river. The Germans at home have no conception of the great commercial activity seen here.—All the principal cities in America are situated on rivers, because the country is still too sparsely settled to allow inland cities to flourish.—Steamboat travel is quite cheap and rapid. In four or five days one can go from Louisville to St. Louis.

"You might think that by moving a merchant would lose much of his patronage. That is, however, quite out of the question here. Of all my customers I rarely ever see one again. They are almost all strangers who travel up and down the Ohio."

The following is taken from a letter by Mrs. Christiane Wulfing. "Some of the customs of this country seem strange. For example, one of the lady clerks who works in Fred Schmieding's store always drives in a carriage to his place of business, and wears a silk dress and a light veil on her hat. Whenever one goes out for a walk or for a visit one puts on a silk dress, whether it is Sunday or not.—Strawhats are worn in the summer as well as in the winter.—The living rooms of the

Americans are usually very neat and the carpet is never wanting, but some of the women have the bad habit of letting their children run around dirty. The woman who has a maid hardly pays any attention to the household, but spends her time before the mirror, at the window or in visiting."

Mr. Wulfing writing again: "On the whole the times are hard now, however, this strikes the working man worse than the merchant. During the month of August my sales were light on account of the great heat during which the people do not travel much. In February the river was frozen, and so all business was at a standstill. The financial crisis contributes to slack business. What causes Fred Schmieding's and my greatest loss is the low stand of the water in the Ohio. The river is so low that almost during the entire previous summer only the small steamboats were able to navigate. Even now in February (1839) it is very low. Since our business depends chiefly on strangers who travel up and down the river, as also on the workingmen who work on the boats, the stand of the water has an enormous influence on our business. In November we had somewhat higher water for about ten days and then I did well."

Writing on February 17, 1841, Mr. Wulfing writes, "In 1836 the United States not only had no debt, but money to spare. Now all states, except Missouri, as also most of the important cities are so deeply in debt, that some of the states are not able to pay the interest on their indebtedness.*

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*In substantiation of what Mr. Wulfing says I cite Coman's 'The Industrial History of the U. S.' p. 231. Speaking of the crisis of 1837 we read: "The country underwent five years of financial depression. Specie payment was generally resumed in 1838, but the relief was short lived. Seven hundred and fifty-nine banks closed their doors the following year, and the business world was not again in working order until 1842. . . . The sharp reduction in revenue placed the U. S. Government, which had distributed a surplus of $37,000,000 in 1837, under necessity of declaring a deficit of $42,900,000 for the seven years of the depression. Some of the newer state governments were in the verge of bankuptcy. Mississippi and Florida repudiated their bonded indebtedness."

Two letters written by friends of Mr. Wulfing further attest the deplorable financial situation. The letters read as follows:

New Orleans, Feb. 11, 1840.

I went from St. Louis to Vicksburg, where I spent several weeks, but I could not make up my mind to open a business there. In the first place the

The Bank of the United States has closed its doors, and many banks of the several states have failed. So for example also the State Bank of Illinois. The latter state is so deep in debt that it has failed. This is very bad for Charles (Schmieding) in Quincy. Since he rarely sees any cash money any more, he is obliged to exchange all wares for produce which he must ship to St. Louis to realize anything on his transactions."

On May the third 1842 Gustavus Wulfing arrived in St. Louis. We read in his letters: "We like it here far better than in Louisville. In St. Louis life is much more according to the German manner than in Louisville. The German preachers of this city are not much good, but we have a good German school.* The drinking water is poorer here than in Louisville. We drink the Mississippi River water, which in the summer is, of course, tepid, and besides so muddy that a glass-full has a muddy deposit a quarter of an inch thick when it has stood for half an hour. Still it is said to be healthful."

In one of his letters an interesting paragraph is injected regarding religion. "The 'Antipfaff'** is a disgraceful sheet. We read it and then discuss among ourselves in how far it

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times are pretty hard, in the second place I did not like the money that is in circulation at that place. Since the Mississippi paper money commands such a low value, one never sees any coins smaller than the dollar. All money of a denomination smaller than the dollar is in paper issued by the Mississippi Shipping Company, which is discounted from 20 to 25 percent. So I came on to New Orleans.

WM. KAYSER.

Cincinnati, Aug. 15, 1840.

I am in the act of going to Pittsburg and Wheeling in order to buy ten cent pieces there which here are getting scarcer and dearer every day. If you, too, are interested in this undertaking, I shall be glad to attend to the matter for you as I have agreed to do for others here.

P. H. PAUCK.

*Mr. Wulfing was one of the directors of the school in which Christian Hardt taught. (Compare Steines account).

**The word Pfaff in the German is a contemptuous expression for clergyman. This paper was therefore directed against the ministry. Gustav Koerner in his book, Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten, p. 323 and p. 337 tells us that the author of this publication was Heinrich Koch, 'a born agitator', who published the sheet from 1842 to 1845 in St. Louis.—During the war with Mexico Koch was an officer in Major Schoenthaler's battalion.

is right. Our judgment concerning it is that its views regarding religion are despisable, but that it is well to expose the tricks of the clergy, for you must remember, that any one is permitted to preach here, and many a lazy and worthless person has taken it upon himself to preach, for which reason there are many more poor than good preachers in the pulpit. Recently there was a preacher in Hermann, who sold his position to a watchmaker and himself became a farmer. Now the watchmaker is preaching. In Louisville there was a preacher, who formerly had been an actor. August 16, 1844. "We had a terrible flood this summer. The Mississippi was 36 feet higher than it is during low water. The three lower streets of the city were under water. In First street the flood reached the second story of the houses. All the tributaries along the river were at flood stage and the entire harvest in those regions was lost. Some farms have been made useless for years, since they are covered with sand, some of them eight feet deep.

1848. "From Bielefeld, Bunde, Waldorff and surrounding country many immigrants arrive each year.—Many persons from here are going to California.—St. Louis now has a population of 65,000. More than a thousand houses are being built each year.

May, 1849. "The cholera has broken out in St. Louis in a rather violent form. From twenty to thirty persons die daily.

June 15, 1849. "The cholera has increased in intensity. Yesterday there were 85 funerals, 65 of which were victims of the cholera.

July 30, 1849. "We have all had an attack of the cholera. The greatest number of deaths that occurred during a period of twenty-four hours was 192. I do not think that there are twenty families in St. Louis that did not lose at least one member by this dread disease. In most of the families several deaths occurred. Some families have died out entirely. The road to one of the ten cemetaries of the city leads past our house. On many days we saw more than twenty funerals go by. During the worst time of the epidemic

nothing but funeral processions could be seen on the streets. All business was paralized. Many business houses were entirely closed. My brother-in-law, Fred E. Schmieding did not open his store for six weeks.

July 28, 1850. "The cholera has again broken out, but compared with last year it is of little importance. On the other hand a great many children die on account of the intense heat. Yesterday's paper stated, that yesterday forty-three funerals took place, among them there were twenty-five children under five years of age, and that fifteen deaths had been caused by cholera.

May 19, 1849. "On the night of May the 18th to the 19th a great fire raged in the city. It destroyed 418 houses and 28 steamboats."

We shall now give a number of remarks by Mr. Wulfing, which might be said to come under the heading—Political. Soon after his arrival in Ohio he writes, "America stands on a much more advanced plane than Germany. We pay scarcely any taxes and still there is an excess of $20,000 in our state treasury. The six thousand soldiers which the country needs, cost very little. The duties on foreign goods bring in much revenue, as does also the sale of public lands. Last year $11,000,000 worth of land was sold by the government.

"America is a splendid land, when one has become somewhat accustomed to conditions here. I would now feel ill at ease in Germany where tyranny saps the marrow of the good Germans. The Europeans decry the institution of slavery in America, while they themselves are slaves to their oppressors. Over there the people seem to exist for the sake of the government. Here the government exists for the sake of the people. Among 1,000 Germans who emigrate for America, there are 999 who live happily here and feel themselves at home in a year's time. If, on the other hand, 1,000 Americans should go to Europe, I do not believe that scarcely one would feel happy there. Oh, indeed, America is a happy land! I have made application to become an American citizen, and have solemnly renounced my old king with joy.

"It is impossible to tell adequately what a fortunate country America is. The President of the United States occupies the highest office on earth, in as much as he alone is the first officer of the whole United States, and in as much as the United States is larger than all of western Europe. Europe has countless emperors, kings, princes, dukes, etc., etc. This President of ours is truly democratic. He walks up the streets of the capital city, just as I do. There is no idea of royal highness, not to speak of majesty. He is not even addressed as 'Mr.' President, because here the title of Mister is not used with other titles, as the German Herr is. In addressing him one therefore simply says, 'How do you do, President?', whereupon the President replies, 'I thank you, and how are you?'

"In a Prussian passport, which one often has difficulty in getting at all one reads: 'We by the grace of God, etc., etc., etc., make known herewith, that so and so, intends to travel via such and such places to such and such a port or place, etc., etc., etc.' In an American passport we read: 'Our fellow citizen, Mr. So and so, wishes to travel to Europe via such a port. We request therefore all our consuls to defend the same, where and when he may desire it. In the name of the Independence of the United States of America. I regret indeed that I did not come to this country twenty years ago. My children, however, will reap the blessing and benefit of my coming.

"It will seem an exaggeration, and you will be scarcely able to believe me, but I can truthfully assert, that a well-behaved slave is better off in this country than the European peasants in the old country. I know it will be hard for you to believe this, and I should not have believed it myself before coming here.

"At the time when the American colonies declared their independence from England, the following was regarded as one of the fundamental principles: 'Thou shalt acknowledge no lord but the Lord God—Thou shalt be ready to sacrifice thy life and thy possessions,—not for kings, but for the freedom of the fatherland.' For this reason I say, it is wrong to

prevent one from emigrating to America. I assure you, that whenever we speak of Germany, something that happens almost daily, we rejoice, that we are here, and have passed the period of probation successfully.

"Prussia and the United States stand at the opposite extremes of modern civilization, namely the autocratic and the liberal. In both lands a process of evolution is taking place, such as the world has never seen. We thank our Creator daily that he has led us hither, since we have learned from our own experience what it means to be free citizens in a free land. If the freedom of the press obtained over there, how gladly would I sit up many a half night through and write, in order to open the eyes of my dear Germans.

July 1848. "In so far as I am able to judge from the newspapers, I am led to surmise, that the unrest over there has not subsided, but rather that it has just begun, and that war and devastation will continue as long as all the superfluous thirty-six rulers have not been chased away, and Germany has been made a republic.* I wish that I had a capable correspondent over there. The newspaper reports are so uncertain and often so contradictory, that one is absolutely unable to get at the truth of things.

"The Russian Bear has no doubt moved to the border, in order, in due time to compensate himself for his trouble by acquiring this or that piece of land belonging to this or that of the thirty-six rulers. Would that at the time of the Berlin Revolution some one had had the happy thought to shoot Number 4 (Frederick William IV), as he, on his part, permitted his faithful subjects of Berlin to be cut down by the soldiery. In that event the other thirty-five would long ago have run away, for I have never yet heard that if one shot down one crow that the other 35 remained sitting on the perch.—God grant that the people may become enlightened

*Mr. Wulfing here is referring to the German Revolution of 1848, when the German people demanded a constitutional government. For a most fascinating account of this endeavor see Carl Schurz' 'Reminiscenses'.

soon, and that the lords by the grace of God may be hanged by the grace of God.

"We have heard of the June Revolution in Paris, and were not a little rejoiced to see that the good cause has won, and that the new republic has stood the trial of fire. In Germany too, blood will flow, but what is that compared with the freedom of the whole people. As long as there are emperors and kings there can be no freedom. I am sure that you would share my point of view, if you had been a citizen of our fortunate free America for thirteen years, as I now have been.

"According to our papers to-day it appears that still another has been added to your thirty-six rulers by the grace of God,—John of Austria. Hermann Kriege* will go to you, he who has studied freedom here, and he will try to make the good German people understand, that all the 'thirty-seven' are very superfluous beings, and that the people are old enough to govern themselves.

May 4, 1849. "The German people were on the right track, but they allowed themselves to be diverted from it by vain promises. I fear they do not want to become free. We pity them with our whole heart.

"Almost daily more immigrants, political refugees, arrive here. Many of them are from Elberfeld and Barmen, etc. In recent years many of the immigrants belong to the better classes. Usually about half of them settle here in or near

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*Koerner, ibid 128-9, In the year 1845 Hermann Kriege landed in New York. He was born in 1820 in Westphalia. Studied at some of the best universities in Germany. Had very liberal views on account of which he was sought by autocratic government. Escaped to Belgium, then to London and finally to New York. Founded the 'Volkstribuene' in New York. Was an enthusiastic abolitionist. Advocated a homestead law for the benefit of real settlers, which law was finally passed by congress in 1862. Sought to appeal to the German people to induce them to democratize their government by writing a series of life stories of the heroes of the American Revolution, under the title, 'The Fathers of the Republic', dealing with the lives of Thomas Payne, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. In 1848 he went to Germany again to support the popular uprising. Appeared before the congress of working men in Berlin and sought to inspire them to social-democratic unions. He wrote to a friend, 'The proletariat for which I have been so enthusiastic, does not exist.' Returned disheartened to America. Died on the 31st of December 1850 in New York City.

St. Louis, while the other half either goes to the country, or moves on to Iowa or Wisconsin."

When in the year 1846 the United States became involved in the war with Mexico a large number of men from Missouri enlisted in the army. Among these were some who were very dear friends of Mr. Wulfing. In a letter dated May 20, 1846, he speaks of the enlistment of a youth who had been in his care since the boy's coming to this country. His relatives and friends in the old country were very much perturbed when they heard that this young man had joined the army. Mr. Wulfing's letter seeks to put them at ease, and at the same time we get an expression of his attitude in regard to the war, as also an expression of his love for his adopted country.

"Julius Wuesthoff has joined the army. The company to which he belongs is commanded by Captain Koch. Many of our friends are in the same company, as for example, Henry Gildehaus, Fred Meister, Kochkritz, and Bollhovenes. Hermann Schroeder belonged to the same regiment, namely The Texas Volunteers, but is assigned to another company.

"For your pacification I will say, that I envy rather than pity Julius. I should not have remained at home if my obligations to my wife and my children had not compelled me to stay. Julius is in the midst of faithful friends. He is well liked by his officers and his companions, and has strength and courage. After a careful study of the whole situation, I must say that Julius is to be envied. He has the honor and good fortune to be a free citizen of the free United States, and has the added and greater honor to be permitted to defend his adopted fatherland.

"If my son Charles were twenty years old instead of fourteen he would certainly not have stayed at home, as I regard this war absolutely just on our part."

One of the letters of this young man was found among the letters of Mr. Wulfing. In this he tells something of the journey to New Orleans where he went to join his regiment. We read:

"Below Vicksburg the weather became better, so that we could stay on deck all the time. The last day of our journey we passed plantation after plantation. Sometimes we saw from 400 to 500 negroes working in one field. They have to work day and night in the sugar cane. Everywhere one sees sugar mills. Till the end of February the slaves get only four or five hours of rest during the twenty-four hours of a day. On Sunday some of the owners give them the afternoon off. Then one can see them at church, or at a dance or visiting, or they are on the river in skiffs collecting drift wood, which they sell to the steamboats.

"When we arrived at New Orleans the moon was shining. For a mile and a half we passed large sailing ships, there must have been some 300 of them, then we passed a lot of steamboats, some 40 I should judge, and finally there were a lot of brigs and schooners.—The levee is five miles long."

Two letters by Mr. Wulfing's friends who participated in the campaign against Mexico are full of items of interest, which warrant their translation here. Both men were officers in the army. The writer of the first letter was a linguist and teacher of languages, which explains his interest in the Spanish language. We read:

"Santa Fe, December 6, 1846.

"Dear Wulfing:—Your letter pleased me immensely. It came like a refreshing shower after a long drought. Your delightful humor cheered not only our friends Mink, Flohr, Johanning, myself but other friends, as well, to whom we communicated its contents. In fact some of your trite sayings have already made the round of entire Santa Fe.

"You ask what we are doing. I presume I must start where I stopped in my account to the 'Tribune'. About the end of September, I was ordered to the grazing grounds at Dilgavo, to look after the army horses. I remained there till the last of October. Dilgavo is about fifteen miles from here. It is pleaseantly located, and I spent five very delightful weeks there, spent chiefly in riding and hunting. In the neighborhood are several Mexican families descended from the Spanish nobility. In their

company I spent many a happy hour. In the evenings there was sometimes a fandango, with the most charming girls present. Such a fandango in the country is far more pleasing than here in the town. This is due to the fact that in the country there are not so many soldiers present, and then also, because the girls in the country are of a better class, healthier and more charming.

"Reluctantly I left Dilgavo, but the horses were sent to Bent's farm for the winter, and Lieutenant Johanning and I occupied a house here on November 2, where we have quickly established ourselves very comfortably. We have brought our hosehold equipment over here and live like caballeros. For the poor soldiers barracks have been erected, where, however, they are unfortunately crowded together like herrings.

"Every one is criticising Santa Fe, this tedious place. For my part I am having a splendid time. For me the days pass like minutes. This is perhaps the reason why I have not written sooner. You will excuse my neglect when I tell you that a genuine passion for the Spanish language has possessed me. Of all the languages which I have hitherto studied, it is the noblest, clearest and richest. It is genuine music to my ears. You will see that I shall learn Spanish sooner and better than English. I have my entire room full of Spanish books. I read the whole day and in the night speak—in my dreams. Occasionally there is a knock at my door and Caballero Don Augusto receives a kind invitation to smoke a cigarrito with Senora and Senorita so and so. I rise, wrap myself in my domino and hasten to the palacio of the waiting beauty. All women here are emancipated. They recline on their divan like the inhabitants of the orient, smoke cigarritos and read Don Quixote. I enter. I hear a whispering: "Mi alma, mi curacion, mi querido". Unfortunately Casper Schlumpf, who formerly drove the omnibus for Tischlers, blows his bugle for the reveille. Away, out of the arms of morpheus and sweet dreams of love. A good artilleryman rushes to his cannon,—boots and saber,—and hastens thru the raw morning air to the roll call. The duties of the company are announced: nine men as guards, ten to the building

of the forts, ten to the sawmill, eight to the timber, three to police duty, twenty to cook for the others, twelve to care for the horses, twenty men are reported sick. Every man has his duties, and we lucky superiors wrap ourselves in the toga of our dignity and rejoice that we do not have to drill, because there are no men left to drill. So it has been for a long time. In the evening the whole battalion assembles upon the Plaza for dress parade before Major Clark, listens to tolerably good band music, and happily goes home for supper. Then usually Flohr and Mink come, and a discussion ensues. One is enthusiastic about the yellow and the other about the red stripes on his uniform. Major Clark maintains that we are artillerymen, and for that reason ought to have red stripes on our trouser legs. Captain Fischer, on the other hand, does not want to give up his yellow stripes, and threatens to put every one under arrest who would take off the yellow stripes and put on the red. Lieutenant Johanning wears red stripes,—horrors,—because he would rather be on friendly terms with Major Clark than with Captain Fischer. I shall remain neutral and shall sew a red stripe on my right trouser leg and a yellow one on my left, so that I need to turn myself only according to the way the wind blows.

"Tomorrow Lieutenant Kribben, with ten men of our company, will leave with Colonel Mitchell's command of 100 men for Chihuahua, to establish connection between our army and that of General Wool. It is a very trying trip, since our horses are in a very poor condition, because of lack of food and on account of the cold.

"My grey is fortunately still in good condition. A large number of our horses has died, and presumably most of the remainder of them will go to the devil during the winter. Uncle Sam has not only caused the men to wait in vain for their pay, but also has not given a single cent for the maintenance and feed of our noble animals. Money is very scarce, and most of the men are deeply indebted to the sutler, who charges them $1.25 for a pint of brandy. The officers have all received their pay and live in affluence. The common

soldiers go hungry, thirsty, they curse and die. Every day we see some carried out.

"In our company the men are still in a fair condition, tho a large number of them look emaciated enough. We have at least not lost any of them by death. Now, to be sure, a crisis will come, which will give many a one the death blow. Captain Flohr has written a comedy, which he read aloud to everybody, and moreover wants to see it performed in our company. Whoever survives that may thank his Creator.

"Concerning the disagreement of our superior officers and our company, you have, no doubt, heard enough. The affair disgusts me and I let things go as they will, just so they stay ten paces from me. From the beginning I have met the old fellow in a manly manner and without anger, on the prairie as well as here, and I have the satisfaction that he has not only treated the whole company better, but also that he is convinced that I do not battle against the person but for principles and humanity. He does not only treat me with the greatest respect, but also tries to regain the esteem of the whole company. To be sure we are to start on our return march in a few months, and so there may be some policy in the game.

"The events of the war go their slow pace. We do not even know whether Wool has taken Chihuahua. I heard from some Mexican captains, that General Martinez was marching with 11,000 men toward Chihuahua, and that Santa Anna had declared that he would fight to the last Mexican before he would surrender a quarter of a mile of territory. We shall see.

"In the meantime we have built a superb fort, so that we can easily defend and maintain Santa Fe. About 3,000 men are stationed at Santa Fe. Doniphan's regiment is on an expedition against the Navajos. My private opinion is that this land will never remain a part of the United States. When the large army goes back next year, the revolt may arise again, and then they may even use the fort which we have built. The language and the religion constitute a people; all other boundaries are a makeshift, the work of map-makers. The Mexicans will learn English just as little as they will

give up their Catholic religion. Our invasion is doubtless very beneficial to the people here, for they learn much from our army, and are shaken out of their easy-going way. War is a tonic for nations, says Herder somewhere, and here one sees that he is right.

"With the greatest pleasure I think of the many delightful hours I have spent in your home, and hope to find you all well and happy upon my return.

Your friend,

August de Marle."

"Santa Fe, New Mexico, December 7, 1846.

"The letter of our dear 'Uncle' Wulfing, dated September 25, which was received day before yesterday, pleased us immensely, since it is a proof that you take an interest in our fate. In spite of the fact that such a deplorable state of affairs exists in St. Louis your sense of humor has not forsaken you.

"Under the prevailing condition of lack of money every one is weary of purposeless loafing and longs to be back in St. Louis again. De Marle, Flohr and myself occasionally study, and can find company more easily; moreover, we were never so destitute to be obliged to forego such amusements as can be paid for with money. But why the great number of soldiers do not die of ennui is a wonder. It proves that the human animal can stand much.

"In comparison with other companies, the state of health in our company is still fairly good. No deaths have occured in our company, altho many, I among them, have been very sick. We owe the superior state of health in a large measure to the consistent and conscientious care of Doctor Luethy, who serves his comrads in a most devoted manner, and saves them from calomel poisoning. Thanks to his clever treatment the men fairly need to be sent to the hospital. Those, however, who reach this institution of murder, and are stupid enough to swallow even the twelfth part of the medicines administered there, are as good as dead. To have a correct conception of

the skill of these physicians one must have himself lain sick in one of these institutions.

"For months we have not had any German newspapers. I cannot imagine that my friend Benkendorf has neglected to send them. I rather think that the infamous native hords let no carrier live who falls into their hands. Please tell Benkendorf to send all papers to de Marle, and put them in envelopes addressed to Major Clark, Commandant Battalion Light Artillery, Missouri Volunteers, via Fort Leavenworth, then they will be more sure to arrive and will be sent with the letters. Benkendorf ought to write to de Marle anyway, as per agreement, if he wants further articles from him. De Marle does not write as much as at first. He says there is an art of keeping silent, whereby one gains time to learn Spanish and to visit the ladies, I meant to say, visit the ladies to learn Spanish. Because of the good standing he has with the captain he has but little military duty to complain of. Thus he has ample time to gather his vocabulary from all sources, which he honestly utilizes. At present he is paying court to the richest, most interesting, and most esteemed widow in New Mexico. Senora Tula is really a remarkable woman. In her drawing room one finds the best society of Santa Fe. The governor and officers frequent there daily. She is the lady who but recently advanced our army a few thousand dollars. She is the one who can give the best biographical account and the best characterization of all Mexican generals and presidents, many of them were personally known to her.

"The real reason why de Marle has not written more for publication is the fact that he does not care to say anything about affairs in our company, for in the end nothing good could come of it for him. Because he did not know how to keep his mouth shut, he received such a jolt that he was hurled from Leipzig to Santa Fe. (Evidently de Marle was a political refugee from Germany.) Doubtless he fears that a second jolt might land him in the Pacific ocean.

"In Captain Fischer a genuine metamorphosis has taken place. This rough Prussian under-officer has become the best of captains. This fortunate change he owes in a large

measure to de Marle and myself. He is actually becoming popular in the company, for he does everything for them that they might wish. He even lets Lieutenant Johanning alone. If he is wise he will continue in this way, for the return to St. Louis is not far distant. Instead of tormenting the men with roll calls and parades, etc., etc., he torments them now with a product of his belletristic efforts. Just think he has written a comedy, which is to be presented by men of his company on a specially prepared German stage.

"I have finally obtained my desired discharge from service, ostensibly on account of ill health. However, what induced me chiefly to seek it was the fact that I am tired of the present soldier life, which consists of nothing but 'left about' and 'right about,' guard duty, building of the fort and sawmill, occasional starvation, constant association with common fellows and quarreling with officers. Moreover, I should scarcely have been able to carry out my fond wish of seeing the states of Old Mexico. Owing to the fact that I secured my discharge, I shall not only get my salary, which has been reduced lately, and twelve dollars per month for the maintenance of my horse, but also my traveling expenses from St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth, and from here back to St. Louis. This amount will be paid me in part in cash and in part in the form of drafts on the Bank of Missouri. The whole amounts to a goodly sum. During the last few days of service my horse escaped from the herd. I have had this loss correctly attested, perhaps I shall get it replaced, because there is no fodder here for the animals. The whole army looks with anxiety forward to some action by congress which would allow feed for the horses. It is probable that all horses will die during the winter from lack of food, or at least will be wholly unfit for the return journey.

"About the last of this month or the beginning of the next Doctor Massure and I shall start on our journey. Doctor Massure wishes me to go with him as a companion and insists upon defraying all the expenses. I shall ask you therefore to send all my letters to New Orleans, in care of Bensick and Company. We shall arrive in New Orleans next May or

June. The trip will not only be very interesting but also very comfortable. The doctor is a Frenchman and a good companion. He has two wagons and two servants, in other words he is a born vivant. He is rich and insists that I shall enjoy, without charge, everything he enjoys on the journey. I would be a fool if I did not accept such an invitation, in spite of the fact that it is not entirely without danger. The doctor plans to go from here via El Paso del Norte to Nannora and from there to Chihuahua, Mexico City, Vera Cruz, New Orleans to St. Louis.

"War news I cannot give you, except that today a detachment of 100 men under Captain Mitchell's command, among whom there is also Kribben, have started for Chihuahua, presumbly to effect communication with General Wool's army. Whether the men will reach Chihuahua is a question, since they are ordered eventually to return to this place. We do not know for certain whether General Wool is in Chihuahua or not. Neither do we hear anything concerning Kearney, who, as you already know, is marching with a large number of his dragoons to California. Our latest news comes from St. Louis. I still believe that this scandalous war will soon end. Santa Anna is without doubt paid by the United States. Why else should the Secretary of War have asked for $2,000,000 to begin negotiations of peace? How was it possible for Santa Anna to pass unhindered thru the American fleet? What of it if he should now appear in a military capacity before Mexico City? What of it if he should win a battle from the Americans? Money is required for business and without it he might not be able to conclude an honorable peace. What an unhappy policy for a Republic? What would Washington and Jefferson have said to that?

"I had almost forgotten to tell you that de Marle and Flohr also intend to make the return journey to St. Louis thru Old Mexico, if it is at all possible, and not via the prairie trail. De Marle stands well with General Kearney, perhaps he will be able to carry out his plan."

Your,

J. H. Mink.

Another letter to Mr. Wulfing contains elements of interest. Tho the writer was not a follower of Duden we venture to insert his communication in here, since it allows us a brief glance into the career of one of the many political refugees which sought our shores at that and at later times. We read:

Hustisford, Wisconsin, March 4, 1850.

"Now I will briefly relate to you the event of my life. You know that shortly after the death of my father, I was arrested and was kept in prison for one and one-half years, for having uttered political convictions, which are now generally accepted and which everyone utters with impunity. In 1826 I escaped, spent a few months in England, and then set sail for New York. In Albany I gave private instruction for one year, whereupon I secured a good position in a high school of Pittsfield, Mass., which was patterned after a German model. A short while afterwards I received a call as professor from the university at Athens, Georgia. A short time thereafter I married Miss von Vechten in Albany, the daughter of one of the most celebrated jurists in America. We have three children. After sixteen years of service I resigned my position. We went to Germany where we lived very happily with our children in Bon for two years. Still we had an insatiable yearning for America, and since I like country life, I decided to buy land in Wisconsin. Here we now live on a large and fertile farm, and in addition own a flour mill and a saw mill, which we own in partnership with the nephew of my wife. On the whole I am very much pleased with my situation, only the climate of Wisconsin is too severe.

William Lehmann."

The ability of those early German pioneers to express themselves in poetic form is a constant surprise and pleasure to one interested in the written documents which they have left to posterity. So we also find among the papers of Mr. Gustav Wulfing some poems. One that pleases the writer especially expresses a deep grief felt at servering the bonds that

tied this man of affairs to his native land. In clever verse he states the reason for his leaving. It was not a sense of guilt, not thirst for riches, but the wantonness of shameless tyrants which consumed the marrow of the German people and caused them to cast their lot with a foreign land.

JAYHAWKERS IN MISSOURI, 1858-1863

BY HILDEGARDE ROSE HERKLOTZ.

SECOND ARTICLE.

CHAPTER III.

Missouri Prepares To Resist the Jayhawkers, 1860.

The occasion that called out the Missouri Volunteer Militia to the Kansas border in November, 1860, was the threat of Montgomery to gain "possession of Fort Scott and other places near the state line to prevent a fire in the rear while he cleaned out Southern Missouri of its slaves." He declared that he would first exterminate every vestige of pro-slaveryism in Kansas, and then invade Missouri for the purpose of kidnapping and freeing slaves, murdering slave-owners, and destroying property. It was said that Montgomery, assisted by Dr. Charles Jennison, had equipped a company of three hundred well-mounted, well-drilled, and disciplined men, who were supplied with provisions, arms, ammunition, and clothing by regularly organized eastern abolitionists. These armed men had control of Southern Kansas, and were holding that section of the Territory in utter defiance of all law and authority.[1]

On November 11 these marauders, under the direction of Dr. Jennison, hung Russell Hindes, a citizen of Missouri, while he was on a visit to his mother who lived in the Kansas Territory. According to a paper found in the murdered man's overcoat pocket after his body had been brought home, Hindes was executed because he engaged in hunting and kidnapping negroes in 1859. A postscript stated that others would likewise be executed if they were found taking a part in the same occupation. Affidavits of George and Charity

[1] Citizens of Vernon County to Stewart, November 18, 1860, Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 3-4; Snyder to Stewart, November 26, 1860, *ibid.*, 7-8; *Osage Valley Star*, November 22, 1860.

Hindes, the brother and sister of the murdered man, stated that Russell Hindes did not kidnap a negro, but had helped Mr. Lewis Reece, of Bates county, to take a negro to Butler, Missouri, where his master, Dr. Thornton, resided. Hindes received five dollars reward for aiding in the restoration of this fugitive slave to his master.[2]

Colonel James Montgomery indorsed the hanging of Hindes. When James Hanway, a conservative freestate man of Linn county, asked Montgomery the reason for the execution, he declared that Hindes had been hung for man-stealing according to the law found in Exodus, XXI, 16 "And he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."[3]

Samuel Scott, at one time Sheriff of Bates county, was also taken from his home in Linn county, Kansas, and murdered on November 18.[4] These murders showed that Montgomery was carrying out his purpose of murdering all persons who sought to reclaim runaway slaves.[5] Jennison agreed with Montgomery's plan of liberation, and declared his intention of raiding into Missouri and setting the slaves free there first, and then extending operations southward into Arkansas and Texas.[6]

Judge Joseph Williams who presided over the United States District Court convened at Fort Scott became frightened at the threats of Montgomery and Jennison to prevent the court from holding its session on November 19, and he, together with other United States officers, fled to Missouri. In a letter to Governor Stewart he stated that three hundred armed abolitionists under Montgomery and Jennison had begun a war on law-abiding citizens of southern Kansas, and that the former had taken possession of Fort Scott and had broken up the United States Court there, thus compelling

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[2] Affidavits of George and Charity Hindes, in Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 14-20.

[3] Holcombe, *History of Vernon County, Missouri*, 245.

[4] Citizens of Bates County to Parsons, December 2, 1860, in Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 8-9.

[5] *Daily Missouri Republican*, December 3, 1860.

[6] *Ibid.*, December 8, 1860.

"the United States officers, including the judge, to fly for their lives." He made known Montgomery's intention to invade Missouri to release every slave and hang every master, and stated that citizens in Bates and Vernon counties were leaving their homes for the interior.[7]

In consequence of this news from Kansas, meetings were held in Osceola, Clinton, Warsaw, West Point, and other towns in the Missouri border counties for the purpose of adopting immediate measures for protection. Volunteer militia companies were organized in these towns, and the citizens appealed to Governor Stewart to send men and arms to the western border to protect the people and enforce the laws.[8]

J. F. Snyder, Division Inspector of the Sixth Military District, Missouri Militia, likewise informed Governor Stewart that the citizens of Vernon county had cause to fear invasion because the marauders from Kansas had declared their intention of beginning a crusade upon the institution of slavery in Missouri, and of taking all property possible from the Missourians for their support. He proceeded to organize a company of volunteer militia in this county.[9]

In response to demands for protection Governor Stewart called into service the Missouri Volunteer Militia of Saint Louis, under the command of Brigadier-General D. M. Frost, to which was added the Governor's Guard, a company of militia from Jefferson City, under General Parsons. He did this because he believed it would have been impossible to rely upon the unorganized militia of the border, and, even if it had been organized, the people who would have made up such a militia might have disregarded territorial boundary lines in their earnest desire to retaliate.[10]

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[7] Williams to Stewart, November 20, 1860, Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 6; *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 22, 1860.

[8] *Osage Valley Star*, November 29, 1860; *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, November 30, 1860; *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 23, December 2, 1860.

[9] Snyder to Stewart, November 26, 1860, Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 7-8.

[10] Stewart to Senate and House of Representatives, January 3, 1861, in Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., 27; Hopewell, *History of the Missouri Volunteer Militia of Saint Louis*, 26.

General Frost received the order to repel invasions and restore peace to the border on Friday, November 23, and thirty-six hours thereafter his brigade was en route for the southwestern frontier. The members of the different militia companies proceeded at once to prepare for the long march which they had to undertake. This preparation was no small undertaking. Supplies of every kind had to be purchased, and on Friday and Saturday every one was busily engaged in making final arrangements. The brigade was to leave Saint Louis on Sunday morning at ten o'clock, and early that morning interested spectators assembled about armories and on street corners to await the coming of the soldiers. The brigade formed in the vicinity of Sixth and Walnut Streets and from there marched to the Seventh Street Depot where the troops boarded the train which was to carry them to the frontier. The departure took place at one o'clock when, amid the general enthusiasm of the multitude, the train pulled out, and the Missouri Volunteer Militia, consisting of six hundred and thirty men, was on its way to capture Montgomery and his guerrilla followers. They proceeded to the terminus of the Pacific Railroad at Smithton, from which place the troops began their advance to Fort Scott.[11] The progress of the expedition was somewhat delayed after the march began, because the line of march was dependent upon the features of the country as regarded the necessities of the expedition, such as water, wood, forage, and other essentials. Suitable places to camp were scarce and were situated at inconvenient distances.[12]

Upon arrival on the western border on December 4, General Frost called upon General Harney, who, at the head of two hundred United States Dragoons, had come to Fort Scott on December 1, to protect the authorities there in the exercise of their functions, and to prevent Montgomery and his Jayhawkers from interfering with land sales, which were advertised for December 3. Montgomery consented

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[11] *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 26, 1860; Frost to Stewart, December 26, 1860, in Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 10.

[12] *Daily Missouri Republican*, December 3, 1860.

to the sales when he saw that General Harney and his troops meant business. General Harney informed General Frost that Fort Scott had been threatened the night previous, and that he intended to send a force on December 5 to capture Montgomery at his fort, which was situated fifteen miles from the Missouri line, and twenty-five miles north of Fort Scott. Harney and Frost planned to unite their forces if Montgomery and his organized band should give battle. But when Montgomery saw that he would have to fight both federal and state troops, he disbanded his men and left the country.[13]

Montgomery's friends and followers in Linn and Bourbon counties held a convention at Mount City, Kansas, and passed resolutions defending his actions. They believed that the execution of Hindes, Scott, and Moore was justifiable on the ground that these men were base criminals who sought to deprive men of their dearest rights, and claimed that any person who engaged in kidnapping and manhunting was worthy of death. They expressed their determination to use any means necessary to prevent kidnapping upon Kansas soil. They likewise regarded the presence of the United States Dragoons under General Harney at Fort Scott as an infringement of their rights, and signified their intention of defending themselves against all forces which might be brought to bear against them. It was their desire that the War Department's action in sending troops to the Kansas Territory to exterminate those whom they regarded as "trusty neighbors, good citizens, and honest men" should cease.[14]

Since Montgomery had dispersed his men before the brigade was able to meet them in battle, General Frost believed that it was no longer necessary to retain the whole command upon the frontier. He did think, however, that the enemy still existed and that the welfare of the State de-

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[13] Frost to Stewart, December 26, 1860, Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 11; *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 24, 1860; Holcombe, *History of Vernon County, Missouri*, 252.

[14] Convention of Linn and Bourbon Counties, December, 1860, in Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 23-24.

manded armed protection. He therefore recommended to the Governor the organization of a force of two hundred men to act as a patrol upon the western border. This suggestion was acceded to, and Colonel John Tracy was sent with orders to Frost to organize such a force with volunteers from his command or from inhabitants in that vicinity, and that the balance of the command should report to the Governor at Jefferson City. General Frost complied with this order and authorized the organization of the Southwest Battalion under the command of Colonel J. S. Bowen to patrol and protect the frontier. This Battalion was composed of three companies of mounted riflemen and one of artillery, and was formed from volunteers from Frost's Brigade and citizens of Bates and Vernon counties—225 men in all. The remainder of the command was conducted to Jefferson City and Saint Louis, and discharged from active service on December 16, 1860, having thus had twenty-two days of actual service. The purpose of leaving this force to patrol the border was to restore confidence in the people and to give them a renewed sense of security.[15]

The prompt action of Governor Stewart in sending troops to the border to defend the life and property of the people there at a time when they were unable to defend themselves because of the lack of arms and munition was hailed with feelings of greatest satisfaction by these border people, and they held meetings at which they adopted resolutions expressing their gratitude to the Governor for his action and his determination to suppress the threatened invasion of the border.[16] There were some people, however, who looked upon the marching of the gallant Saint Louis Brigade to the southwest as a very amusing incident. Colonel J. F. Snyder, Division Inspector of the Sixth Military District, Missouri Militia, held this view. When Montgomery threatened an

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[15] Frost to Stewart, December 8, 10, 1860, *Daily Missouri Republican*, December 11, 12, 1860; Hopewell, *History of the Missouri Volutneer Militia of Saint Louis*, 28; Report of the Committee on Militia, in Missouri, *Senate Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 565.

[16] *Daily Missouri Republican*, December 1, 5, 1860.

invasion of Missouri on November 19, Colonel Snyder had been ordered to use all available means at his command to repel invasions, and he proceeded at once to effect a thorough organization of the militia in Bates, Vernon, and Barton counties. He believed that the militia of his district, thus organized, would have been able and willing to repel any "nigger-stealing outlaws" that Montgomery might have marched against the State, if they had had the proper means of defense. He asked Governor Stewart to establish an arsenal at Bolivar with arms for five hundred men and ammunition for a three-month's campaign. He wanted munitions of war, and not men, from other districts. To him, as well as to other people, the calling of the Saint Louis Brigade to the frontier meant the underestimation of the ability of the volunteer militia of the western border counties.[17]

Missouri was not invaded by Montgomery at this time. He came down from Mound City with about sixteen men and approached Fort Scott, but no one there was molested. Judge Williams made no attempt to hold the United States court, but, instead, became frightened and fled into Missouri before the time set for the opening of the court, thereby creating more excitement than would otherwise have existed. Masters and their slaves left the western borders of Bates and Vernon counties for the interior, and slavery was practically abolished there for a time. All the excitement seemed to have been caused by the fear of what the Jayhawkers might do. This fear was based upon the knowledge of what they were able and inclined to do, as well as upon the remembrances of what they had already done.[18]

Governor Stewart's successor, C. F. Jackson, who came into office on January 3, 1861, continued his predecessor's policy of maintaining an armed force along the western border for the purpose of giving to those citizens there that protec-

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[17] Snyder to Stewart, December 12, 1860, in *Missouri Historical Review*, II, 77; Holcombe, *History of Vernon County, Missouri*, 262-263.

[18] *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, December 7, 1860; *Daily Missouri Republican*, December 8, 1860; Holcombe, *History of Vernon County, Missouri*, 247.

tion of life and property which they had a right to demand. He praised Frost's Saint Louis Brigade for the promptness and efficiency which they displayed in responding to Governor Stewart's call to defend the frontier from the ravages of the outlaws.[19]

Along in March, 1861, Governor Jackson received resolutions from the House of Representatives requesting him to furnish it with information concerning the advisability and necessity of continuing longer in the service of the State the military force on the southwest border. In a special message on March 7, 1861, he informed the House of the reasons why the force should be continued.[20] Adjutant-General Warwick Hough, on February 25, 1861, addressed a communication to Colonel John S. Bowen, the officer commanding on the southwest border, regarding the expediency of withdrawing from active service the battery attached to Bowen's command. Bowen informed Hough that if the interest of the State required the removal of the battery, he would do the best he could to preserve the efficiency of his command without it, but he added that the battery had a "powerful moral effect on the border, inspiring the people and the troops with a degree of confidence, and the enemy with a timidity which could not be produced by a regiment of infantry."[21] Bowen informed Governor Jackson that the Jayhawkers had threatened to use against his command the volunteer froce which the Territorial Legislature had authorized to be raised in Linn and Bourbon counties.[22]

Jackson also received remonstrances from five hundred and six citizens of Bates, Vernon, Henry and other counties on the southwest frontier against the withdrawal of the Southwest Battalion from the service of the State. These people claimed that the armed population of Kansas were still organized with the intention of committing murder and rob-

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[19] Jackson's Inaugural, January 3, 1861, Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., 51.

[20] Jackson to House of Representatives, March 7, 1861, Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 755-756.

[21] Bowen to Hough, Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 756.

[22] Bowen to Jackson, February 3, 1861, *ibid.*, 761.

bery in their counties in case the Battalion should be removed. In view of that fact, they insisted that it would be only an act of extravagance to disband this necessary force when they felt sure that as soon as the Battalion was withdrawn from the frontier, another force would have to be called out to prevent the border from becoming desolated. They believed that the present Battalion was not only a body around which people could rally in case of invasion, but, in addition, it provided military instruction for the citizens.[23] The letter from Colonel Bowen, as well as the remonstrance from the citizens of the border counties, left no doubt in Governor Jackson's mind as to the necessity of continuing the force on the western border. He felt that its withdrawal would only be a signal to the Kansas marauders to renew their plundering attacks upon unoffending citizens living there.[24]

The Battalion remained on duty until the latter part of April, 1861, when Captain Jackson's Battery of Light Artillery and Captain E. McDonald's Company of Mounted Riflemen were ordered to Saint Louis and the other companies were disbanded.[25] General Frost was an intelligent officer and a strict disciplinarian, and his campaign familiarized the officers and the men with the routine of camp duties, and instructed them in the rudiments of soldiership. While the troops under Bowen were encamped on the western border, the Jayhawkers on several occasions showed themselves in the vicinity of their camps, but they lacked the courage to make an attack or to remain stationary until they should be attacked.[26] This Southwest Battalion formed the nucleus of the force which was later organized at Camp Jackson to aid Governor Jackson in his plan to carry Missouri out of the Union, but its dispersion by General Nathaniel Lyon and Frank P. Blair prevented Jackson from accomplishing his object.[27]

(To be continued.)

[23] *Ibid.*, 757; Orrick to Gatewood, January 28, 1861, *ibid.*, 760.

[24] Jackson to House of Representatives, March 7, 1861, Missouri, *House Journal*, 21 Assem., 1 Sess., App., 755-756.

[25] Holcombe, *History of Vernon County, Missouri*, 268.

[26] Hopewell, *History of the Missouri Volunteer Militia of Saint Louis*, 28; Moore, "Missouri", in *Confederate Military History*, IX, 10.

[27] Viles, "Documents Illustrating the Troubles on the Border, 1860", in *Missouri Historical Review*, II, 62.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

To one familiar only with the Missouri of 1900 or even of 1910, the Missouri of 1923 is strange and new. This is true in every phase of activity and thought. It is especially marked in the field of history. Few states, if any, have made greater comparative progress in historical interest. A glance at the membership of this Society, the character and circulation of the *Review*, the annual crop of graduate studies on Missouri history, the varied textbooks on this subject, the thousands of pupils in grade and high school Missouri history classes, the scores of teachers of Missouri history taking work in the state teachers' colleges and universities, the Missouri history requirements of the state department of education, the action of legislative bodies and state officials, and, most important, the attitude of the leading citizens of Missouri—these indicate a new Missouri history spirit. This spirit has entered fields once regarded as alien to history. This summer the senior class of the school of journalism of the University of Missouri will take a month's trip through south Missouri. Why? To inform these future leaders of the press of their State. For weeks these students have been delving in county, town, and state histories in the State Historical Society. What an asset will these journalists be to old Missouri!

The new Greater Missouri movement is much along these lines. Some say it is exploitation work, but such work today must include statistical historical data. Note the change in the "Blue Book" this last decade. More and more one sees emphasis placed on Missouri history. The Missouri Pacific railway is inaugurating a monthly magazine. Its first appeal will be the historical. Note the anniversary publications of banks and commercial houses. History including more than the institution itself is placed foremost. Equally marked is the change in both city and country press. Historical editions and historical feature articles appear more and more frequently. Why? Because Missourians have

developed a pride in the history of their community and state. Even in agriculture the same spirit is seen. The State Board of Agriculture of Missouri now employs a full-time research agricultural historian, Mr. John Ashton. Mr. Ashton has recently compiled a remarkably interesting and valuable monograph on "A History of Hogs and Pork Production in Missouri," (Bulletin, Vol. 20, No. 1, January, 1923, State Board of Agriculture, Jefferson City, Mo.) I have seen no similar work of equal value published in this country. Monographs of like character will be issued from time to time as compiled by Mr. Ashton.

These facts are not inclusive but they are sufficient to indicate a new Missouri in the field of history. There is nothing on the horizon of the future to indicate a lessening of historical interest and work in this State. History, together with education, travel and associations, journalism, and other agencies, is aiding to make our people one people. To break down the barriers of race, river, mountains, city and country, prejudice and provincialism—this is one task Missourians have set their hands to do.

APPRECIATION.

The State Historical Society is performing an indispensable service of the highest value and deserves the cooperation and support of every Missourian.—Honorable Jesse W. Barrett, Attorney General of Missouri, Jefferson City, Missouri, March 26, 1923.

I received the Biennial Report of The State Historical Society and read it yesterday. I was interested in going over the membership list to note the names of 79 of my former students of Missouri state history in the list, but I also noticed the absence of a great many teachers of high school history in the State. I think the report is a most excellent one and I believe it ought to be read by as many people as we can get to read it.—Professor C. H. McClure, Warrensburg, Missouri, March 12, 1923.

The January number of *The Missouri Historical Review* just reached me, and I have greedily read it. Let me congratulate you on the excellent work you are doing, making the *Review* so valuable. I note especially the article on "The Five Oldest Family Newspapers" and "The Missourian." I have taken part of the facts contained in the latter and some of the words, and made an article for the *Shelbina* (Mo.) *Democrat*.—W. O. L. Jewett, Editor, Hollywood, California, March 29, 1923.

Having been a resident of Missouri for over fifty-seven years, and somewhat familiar with its history, I have enjoyed the articles in *The Missouri Historical Review* very much. They will no doubt be of great value to future historians of Missouri and its citizens.—James E. Withrow, St. Louis, Missouri, January 18, 1923.

I have hugely enjoyed reading *The Missouri Historical Review* and am proud indeed of the work it carries on.—Mrs. Eugene N. Maupin, Lentner, Missouri, May 10, 1923.

The friends to whom you sent the *Reviews*, received and are delighted with them. I hope they will prove constant subscribers and useful members of the Society. I will gladly do all I can towards the growth of the Society in all respects. I find great joy in going through the articles and seem to walk beside the writers as I read, for a great portion of the articles treat of much I am familiar with personally, and a larger portion from my husband's statements during our many years together.—Mrs. Jessie E. Foster, Fruitvale, California, February 20, 1923.

It has been my intention forsome time to write you how much I enjoy *The Missouri Historical Review*. I should miss it very much if it did not come to my desk.—Mrs. O. W. Bleeck, Farmington, Missouri, January 18, 1923.

The Missouri Historical Review has been a source of perpetual delight. It is always welcome with its messages of enlightment and enrichment and especially creating in our hearts greater reverence for the thoughts and deeds of our noble pioneers and honored ancestors.—Mrs. Frank F. Todd, Kansas City, Missouri, January 9, 1923.

MISSOURI LOSING RANK IN PENOLOGY.

It is a rare Missourian who has not heard that the State Penitentiary at Jefferson City is one of the largest in America. This has been taught in the schools for a quarter of a century, and has seldom been publicly denied or explained. Many may be surprised to learn that like most striking generalizations, there is no longer anything spectacular in this one. Missouri must be content with more temperate rank in the penology division. Most Missourians have long since relinquished State pretentions in the banditry section, even though some writers persisted in the faith for decades; Missourians must now give up rank in state convicts. In fact Missouri is not even holding her own. The State is slipping badly. Her universities, colleges, and schools threaten the depopulation of her prisons.

The U. S. Department of Commerce has recently issued a pamphlet on this subject. In 1917 there were 2,624 prisoners in the Missouri State prison; in 1922 there were 2,283 prisoners —a decrease of 13 per cent in five years. Only four states had a larger per cent of decrease. The United States showed an increase of 10.1 per cent. Missouri's rank in number of prisoners in 1922 was tenth, her total population rank in 1920 was ninth.

Missouri is fortunate in having only one state prison. It furnishes usable data to so many writers and lecturers. Alabama and Texas also have only one state prison and they are even more available as examples, since each has more prisoners than Missouri. These three states, and especially Missouri, would receive much less publicity if each had three state prisons like Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and California, or like Pennsylvania with five and New York with eleven. Of course the number of prisons does not make the number of prisoners, but if Missouri's 2,283 state prisoners were lodged in three or four prisons the State would not be exceptional. The investigators could not find remarkable data on Missouri then, even if all prisoners—state, county, and city—were included. The total of all Missouri prisoners in 1922 was only 3,958, compared with 4,505 in 1917—another 13 per cent decrease. The U. S. showed an increase of .7 per cent. In rank Missouri was tenth in all prisoners. Eleven states had a larger per cent of decrease than Missouri, but most states had larger increases over the five year period.

In some states where the executive and judicial departments are known for their vigor, decreases in prisoners are seen and in other states with like governmental agencies of vigor increases are noted. From a geographical viewpoint some interesting figures are seen. Of the six New England states, four showed decreases. Two of the three Middle Atlantic states showed decreases. Three of the five East North Central states showed decreases. Only two, including Missouri, of the seven West North Central states showed decreases. The nine South Atlantic states had three with decreases, and the four East South Central states had one.

The four West South Central states had two decreases and the three Pacific states had none. The eight Mountain states had five decreases. To generalize on such data is inviting, but hazardous. Some may maintain that the states showing decreases in prisoners are states with a lax system of law enforcement. Others might maintain with more logic, that strict and quick enforcement of law is condusive to such decreases. Perhaps more fundamental is an appreciation of the old saying that education decreases crime and poverty. At least one cannot forget that the last five years witnessed an educational revival in Missouri that was remarkable and that these years saw the number of prisoners reduced 13 per cent.

The period from 1917 to 1922 was a most trying one, from an economic and a sociological viewpoint. A remarkable prosperity period was followed by a severe depression. War was followed by peace and unemployment, these by full employment and slow readjustment. Such conditions were provocative of unrest and discontent. The normal stabilizers of society as respect for law, belief in religion, hope of material gain, and regard for public service, were weakened. The period was abnormal. There was a tendency to disregard the wisdom of man. So-called "crime waves" appeared. Still Missouri decreased her number of prisoners 13 per cent.

Missouri may have heard that "it costs more to handle criminals in this country now than it costs to maintain all of the educational institutions in the country." Anyhow, Missouri is losing rank in penology, and her universities, colleges, and schools are being crowded with boys and girls. The Missouri State Penitentiary is no longer the largest in the U. S. and Missouri no longer has high rank in her number of prisoners, but the Missouri State Teachers Association does rank second in membership in America. One wonders if the 20,000 Missouri school teachers had anything to do with that 13 per cent decrease in prisoners. One wonders if education is competing with penology.

MISSOURI WRITERS GUILD.

At the annual meeting in Columbia of the Missouri Writers Guild, the following officers were elected: president, J. Breckenridge Ellis, Plattsburg; vice-presidents, Hugh F. Grinstead and Ruby W. Freudenberger, Columbia; secretary-treasurer, P. Caspar Harvey, Liberty. The following compose the new executive committee: Louis Dodge, B. K. Baghdigian, J. W. Earp, Mrs. R. G. Hulburt, Mrs. Belle T. McCahan, Mrs. Maebelle McCalment, Mrs. Mary B. Woodson, Walter Williams.

VALUABLE DONATION.

The State Historical Society received in May a valuable shipment of Missouri newspapers from the W. B. Rogers Printing Company of Trenton, Missouri. The shipment included fifty-six volumes of the *Trenton Republican* and *Tribune*. They cover the years from 1869 to 1899, after which date The State Historical Society's files begin. Embraced in the shipment were the following:

The Weekly Tribune and The Republican, Vols. 1-18 (1869-1899)

The Trenton Evening Republican, Vols. 1-21 (1884-1899).

The Trenton Weekly Tribune, Vols. 1-9 (1891-1899).

Trenton Morning Tribune, Vols. 1-8 (1891-1897).

These valuable files were sent to The State Historical Society for safe-keeping, title remaining with the owners, The W. B. Rogers Printing Company. By this arrangement the owners insure themselves against any loss of their files through destruction by fire or theft and still retain immediate access to any volumes needed; the State of Missouri obtains the use of the files which will enable research workers to obtain information that would probably be beyond their reach if the files remain in the local office.

Other Missouri editors are seriously considering either donating outright their old files, in order to insure their preservation for posterity, or placing them on deposit in The State

Historical Society for reference use and safe-keeping. There are advantages accruing both to the owner and the state by either arrangement. One of the most regrettable features of the local newspaper files is that they are so frequently destroyed or lost. A newspaper questionnaire was recently sent out by The State Historical Society to hundreds of Missouri editors. The replies indicate that only a comparatively small number of the files go back more than ten to twenty years, and that seventy-five per cent of the files before 1900 have been lost or destroyed.

The loss of a whole newspaper file is more than the destruction of private property. It involves the loss of the records of the people which can not be replaced by any means or by the expenditures of any sums. A public depository owned by the people of the state is one certain way of insuring the preservation of such records. If the owner cannot be convinced of this fact then local fireproof quarters should be provided in the interest both of the owner and the public. There are counties in this state whose history can never be fully compiled owing to the loss by fire or carelessness of the records of the people of that county. It is one of the purposes of The State Historical Society to inform the citizens of Missouri that the preservation of their records is as necessary as the legality of their titles and that this Society is glad to co-operate in every way possible in the preservation of such records.

KANSAS CITY.

The will of the late Frank Rozzelle, ex-police commissioner, ex-city counselor, a steadfast friend of Kansas City, after bequests to relatives and to his faithful and devoted secretary, leaves the remainder of his estate, estimated at $200,000, to the fund for suitable buildings to house the art treasures which will come to Kansas City under the will of the late William R. Nelson. To this building fund Mr. Nelson's widow left her estate on her death in 1921.

Mr. Nelson's will directed that all his estate, except only the home, was to go to Kansas City after the death of his wife and daughter. The proceeds were to become a trust fund, the income of which was to be used for the purchase of paintings, sculptures, rare books, tapestries, and other art objects for Kansas City.

It was Mr. Nelson's desire that the estate should be devoted to such accumulations. He left it to others to provide the buildings to house the collection. Mrs. Nelson took the first steps toward fulfilling this wish in leaving her estate to the necessary museum buildings. Now comes the Rozzelle estate devoted to the same public purpose.

—*Kansas City Star*, June 9, 1923.

Here is a news item of significance. Three wealthy citizens have given their estates to advance the civilization of Kansas City. The value of these gifts made in one decade to a single Missouri city is perhaps larger than the total private donations made to the State of Missouri and her public institutions in one century. Fifty years from today the bequests of Mr. and Mrs. William R. Nelson and Mr. Frank Rozzelle will likely be regarded as the beginning of a broad public trend of making donations for Up-Building Kansas City.

There is more than coincidence in these three donations. They express something fundamental. Call it altruism, public service, or civic pride. Obviously, aside from laudable desire of honorable perpetuation of one's name, this fundamental something runs counter to individualism as exemplified in perpetuated family estates. Obviously, this fundamental something is inclined to find expression in the city or in mankind in general rather than in the state or nation. Carnegie, Rockefeller, and others have followed largely the latter course; the majority have followed the urge of the city. One notes expressions of this local interest in other places. In Hannibal Honorable George A. Mahan purchased and donated the boyhood home of Mark Twain and Mr. W. B. Pettibone donated a park which for scenic beauty is equalled by few. Excepting the cities, however, there are few instances of large estates left to the public in the Home Town. This may be due to the small number of large estates accummulated there or it may be due to a different civic pride. There is a peculiar loyalty for the city existing even among the rank and file of the city. Its size, wealth and widespread reputation appeal to the individual. Its collective interests are more homogeneous than those of the state. The city, despite demagogic tirades to the contrary, has a solidarity that can

not be denied. European cities have attained even an individuality. In the past foreign travelers in America have missed this characteristic here but now it seems that American cities are rapidly following in this path of the old world. One also notices a tendency among our cities to up-build rather than to out-build themselves. Immense size is becoming of less consideration than such fundamental assets as solidity, progressiveness, and beauty. Twenty years ago Kansas City stressed population, bank clearings, and industries. Today, despite the fact that these material assets have increased almost miraculously, Kansas City seems to be taking even more pride in its park system and scenic beauty, homes and schools, proper environment for its union depot, and its forthcoming memorial and art centers. For the consummation of work along these lines the leaders and citizens of Kansas City keep striving. Perhaps these three estate donations, large though they be, are only one phase of the will of Kansas City to work up to a higher civilization for all and to give to its civic emblem an individuality which will command worldwide honor.

THE STORY OF A RAID ON THE OLD BRANCH BANK OF MISSOURI AT CAPE GIRARDEAU.

BY ARIEL

It is not now generally remembered that under the state constitution of 1820 the legislature was allowed to incorporate and to operate only one bank in the state, but for this State Bank five Branch Banks were permitted to be established. The capital stock of the bank was fixed at $5,000,000, and it was provided that one-half of the capital must be reserved to the state. Under this provision of the constitution a Branch Bank of the State was established in Jackson in 1841 and in 1851 this bank was moved to Cape Girardeau, principally through the efforts of Thomas Lacy, who in that year was a member of the legislature from this county. The charter of the State Bank gave power to issue notes of a denomination not less than ten dollars, all notes, however, issued by the

bank redeemable in specie on presentation. In other words, gold and silver were preserved as the circulating medium, for it was not understood at that time that the government of the United States had power to make anything but gold and silver a legal tender. It was because of this strict adherence to constitutional money, as it was then understood, being gold and silver only, that Missouri was called the "Bullion State," and because Senator Benton was very much in favor of this system he even attained the sobriquet of "Old Bullion."

So well was the undoubted solvency and value of the State Bank notes understood that such notes in adjacent states commanded a premium. I remember as a boy taking a twenty dollar Missouri State Bank note to a little bank in Belleville, Illinois, to be changed into smaller amounts, and that I returned home with twenty-one dollars in coin, having received one dollar premium for the bank note thus exchanged.

Such was the character of the paper money issued by this old State Bank at this time, and this leads me to tell a little story concerning the past history of the Branch Bank located at Cape Girardeau, related by Col. Sturdivant, who early in the '50's was established as a commission merchant on the Cape Girardeau levee. It must be remembered that in those early days of course from time to time rumors prevailed that a run would be made on this local branch at Cape Girardeau by presenting big sums in Bank of Missouri notes for redemption in actual cash. Generally, however, times did not seem favorable to make such an attack on the bank. No effort had ever been made to attack the State Bank through its Branch Banks, because generally the Branch Banks were located too far out of the way to make such an attack. For instance, one Branch Bank was located at Fayette, another at Palmyra, another at Springfield, and the fifth and last one at Lexington. But some time in the '50's a rumor, based on some facts, found its way to Cape Girardeau that an attempt would be made to attack the State Bank through the Branch Bank at Cape Girardeau by presenting big blocks of Missouri State Bank notes and demanding immediate cash for same, and that failing to honor these notes with cash, the

Branch Bank would be forced to "shut up shop." This rumor of an attack on the Cape Girardeau Branch Bank reached Cape Girardeau before it came to the main office in St. Louis. At any rate the officials in the Branch Bank, impressed with the importance of the information, quickly notified the parent bank of the rumor, stating that in their opinion it was based upon some real facts, and asking that an adequate amount of cash be forwarded so as to meet the demands that might be made. And sure enough, the day after this letter went forward, a stranger reached Cape Girardeau and made his headquarters at the St. Charles hotel, and soon it was noised around that he was anxious to know when the bank would open for business the next day. Of course news traveled fast in those days. Cape Girardeau had only one block of business houses then, on Main Street just north of the hotel. Soon the town, although the stranger had not articulated his purpose, knew what his business was. The parent bank in St. Louis had also in the meantime been advised of the impending attack upon the Cape Girardeau bank, and on the evening that the stranger arrived in Cape Girardeau, made arrangements to ship out an abundant amount of cash to Cape Girardeau by one of the fast packets then running between St. Louis and Louisville. And so it came that on the morning of the contemplated attack, when the stranger went into the bank with his notes to demand actual redemption in cash, the boat happened to land at the levee and quickly boxes and small kegs of gold and silver dollars for the local bank to the amount of more than $50,000 were unloaded and under the supervision of one of the clerks of the boat carted to the bank and delivered. There as fast as the notes were presented, the hard cash was paid for them. But after some $10,000 had been cashed in this way and the boxes of veritable coin were made visible in the bank, the stranger withdrew without making any further demands and never was heard of again. The specie sent down from the parent bank, at least most of it, rested quietly in the vault of the bank for some time, for fear that another financial attack would be made.

Lawmakers.

Criticism of American legislative bodies is common, especially during sessions of Congress and state general assemblies. This tendency to criticize is widespread. It is based on partisan grounds and general discontent, conservatism and progressiveness, activity and inactivity. Strangely these criticisms, frequently contradictory, are directed at the same body. Equally remarkable is indirect criticism thereby expressed of the people by the people, for legislative bodies are composed of representatives of the people, freely chosen, duly elected. The naivete of the expressions are sometimes amusing.

One critic recently remarked in my presence that the legislature should reduce taxes. As a general proposition all might approve. In the next breath this person, who is employed in a state institution, suggested some sort of organization to force the legislature to increase the appropriations of that institution. Another person thought that the State should do more for its insane. The box being open, other obligations of the commonwealth were stated ranging from schools to forests, and parks to hospitals. The desirability of lower taxes is generally approved, the demands for increasing the obligations or work of the government cannot also be denied. The average critic does not, however, advance a solution that will effectively apply to both problems.

One person is convinced that there are too many laws, another is giving his time and money to get a new law on the statute books. Some attack the city administration for its expenditures and another inquires why the fire department is not more adequately supported. A committee of citizens organize to obtain a reduction in insurance rates and the individuals vote against a bond issue for water works, or perhaps petition for a permit to erect a frame building in a congested district.

In these acts and words is contradiction from the viewpoint of logic, but to the individual there is consistency—he opposes what he opposes, and he wants what he wants.

The trouble would end there but frequently there is effort made to eat the cake and keep it too. Legislatures are composed of such persons, representative of their friends and acquaintances back home. The same conflict of wants and prohibitions are found in legislative chambers as are heard expressed in store, pulpit, and class room.

But some maintain that legislatures are *not* representative. This general statement seems accurate viewed from *one* community or by *one* person. Sometimes it has proven accurate viewed even from the state as a whole. Generally, however, a legislature is representative of the people *at that time*, allowance being made for such error as might adhere through the district system of representation, whether state or national. Individuals, people, and legislatures are liberal one year and conservative the next year. A dozen factors outside the field of politics may cause this. High or low rents, good or bad crops, cheap money or panics, profits or losses in business, good health or sickness, peace or war, employment or strikes, and other factors, may be the cause. Certainly these factors are potent both with voters and legislators.

Some may ask, why do some state legislatures show more wisdom or more progressiveness than others? If this question applies to different states, the answer is not difficult to find. The citizens of some states *are* wiser, better educated, and more progressive than those of other states, just as they may differ in their resources, economic pursuits, their per capita wealth or debt, their tax rate, their racial stocks, and a score of other important things. Anyone who has traveled over this nation knows these facts. Again, you may find two states that seem to be similar in almost every outward respect but still differing widely in progressiveness and in the character of legislation enacted. This difference may be due to geographical influences or to the presence or absence of a state consciousness. Some states have always been handicapped by internal geographical barriers and most states are still handicapped by an inability to function as a unit. In these latter commonwealths one finds an absence of state consciousness. The people of such states have not yet

become possessed of a common historical heritage or a common state pride based on a lasting memory of the struggles, the victories and the defeats, of the past in both peace and war, especially in peace.

If the question is, however, to be applied to legislatures of the same state, the answer is not so obvious. Here a variety of factors may enter, as changes through economic forces, national politics, and good or bad leadership. Again, the state itself may be in flux. Old ideas and ideals, good or bad, may be struggling with the new, and neither have yet obtained lasting victory or even effected compromise. This struggle when evidenced in fluctuating legislation is usually also discernable among the people. All of these facts are not gathered from present conditions but are based on the history of American commonwealths. Legislatures are usually representative of the people and always so over a period of years. The leadership of statesmen may give higher tone to legislation than is warranted by the quality of wisdom of the masses, and the reverse is sometimes true, but in the end the will of the people prevails through representatives duly elected by the people. It is the good fortune of most American commonwealths that the tendency since the founding of the nation has been up toward a higher civilization. The people as a whole have become more enlightened, their ideals have risen, their viewpoint broadened, and their economic status vastly improved. Good leadership has accelerated these tendencies, bad leadership has retarded them. Such fundamental forces as religion, education, co-operation, state consciousness, morality, and love of the beautiful, are some of the real bases of the tendency up. Legislatures in America are partial indicators of how far this tendency has progressed among the people of a commonwealth.

MISSOURI'S STATE FLOWER, THE HAWTHORN.

In the May issue of the *Missouri School Journal* Mrs. Waller W. Graves of Jefferson City tells the history of Missouri's adoption of the Hawthorn blossom as the official state flower.

The movement which led to the adoption of the Hawthorn blossom as the state flower was started by the Missouri Daughters of the American Revolution in 1919. There was considerable agitation for both the daisy and the Hawthorn, but, owing to the fact that the daisy had already been chosen as the official floral emblem of North Carolina, the Hawthorn was designated as the choice of the Missouri D. A. R.

Bills for the adoption of both the Hawthorn and the daisy were introduced in the 51st General Assembly, but failed of passage. In the 52nd session of that body bills were introduced in both houses calling for the adoption of the Hawthorn. At the final passage the house bill was the one considered and Miss Sarah Lucile Turner, representative from a Kansas City district, was allowed to have the sole honor of its introduction. The bill was adopted without a dissenting vote in the house and with only one dissenting vote in the senate.

In order to make the hawthorn tree and its blossom better known the Missouri D. A. R. and the Federated Women's Clubs of the state are planning to have trees planted in every school yard in the state.

Missouri is the 45th state to choose an official floral emblem.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS.

Compiled By J. Willard Ridings

Some Early History of Joplin.

From The Joplin *Globe*, June 10, 1923.

The city of Joplin was laid out by John C. Cox who came to Missouri in 1830 and to what is now Jasper county in 1836. The first night John C. Cox spent in Jasper county he slept in almost the exact spot where he afterwards erected the first house in Joplin. He returned to his home in Tennessee, married and again settled in Missouri in 1838. In 1841 he was appointed postmaster at Blythesville and operated it in connection with his store until 1872, with the exception of the Civil War period.

In the spring of 1849 lead was discovered in Leadville Hollow on Turkey creek, and shortly afterwards chunks of lead ore were discovered on land belonging to Mr. Cox in Joplin creek valley. Little mining was done on the land until after the war. Shortly after hostilities ceased mining of the lead ore was commenced on Cox's land.

The rich mineral deposits caused Mr. Cox to think that others would be attracted to the locality. In 1871 he platted the original town of Joplin. The Carthage *Banner*, in an issue of June 22, 1871, made the first mention of the new mining camp as follows:

"There is a new town in Jasper county. Its name is Joplin and it is located fourteen miles southwest of Carthage on the farm of J. C. Cox. It has lead in unlimited quantities under it. Everybody out of employment ought to go there and dig. That is better than doing nothing, and it may lead to a fortune."

The publicity given to the lead strike attracted the attention of hundreds, and in a short time the Joplin creek valley was dotted thick with tents and rudely constructed box houses. Covered wagons came into the mining camp in long processions and roving sons and daughters of fortune took up their abode in the town that sprang up over night.

The city's name, Joplin, originated with the arrival of the Rev. Harris Joplin, a Methodist minister who came from Greene county to Jasper county in 1839. Joplin built his cabin on the sunny slopes near a small stream. This creek in time became known as Joplin creek. When John C. Cox platted his little town that sprang up in the same hills, he called the new settlement after the name of the creek that had, in turn, taken its name from the Methodist minister.

The plat of the town was filed for record July 28, 1871, and shortly afterwards the lots were placed on the market. The first lot sold in the original town of Joplin was purchased by Henry Blackwell and was lot

number 5, block 2, on the northwest corner of Cox and Central avenues. Mr. Blackwell built a house on the lot.

Within a month after Mr. Cox had sold the first lot in Joplin a mercantile and grocery establishment known as Murphy & Davis had purchased a lot at the corner of First and Main streets in West Joplin and was building a store room.

Seeing the possibility in selling real estate in the town that was growing with pehnomenal rapidity, in July, 1871, Patrick Murphy, who at that time was a resident of Carthage, organized the Murphysburg Town Company. His partners in the enterprise were W. P. Davis, Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Elliott of Oronogo and William Byers. They purchased a forty-acre tract of land lying on the west side of Joplin creek and platted it into town lots. The new addition was given the name of Murphysburg. The plat of Murphysburg was not completed until September 4, 1871. The first lot sold in the town was bought by H. Geldmacher.

Geldmacher, who had heard of the mining camp and realized its possibilities, is said to have come into town in a covered wagon, bringing three wagon loads of furniture, cooking utensils and bakery equipment. He sought out Mr. Murphy and told him he wanted to buy a lot on which to erect a restaurant building. Geldmacher selected his building site from the blue print, paid for it on the spot and climbed back into his wagon. Within a few minutes he had unhitched his teams on his own ground and was unloading his belongings. Before the end of the day he had built an oven, mixed a batch of bread and had it in the oven baking. Within a few days he had begun the erection of a building to house the enterprise.

It was natural that since mining was the only industry and lead was the ore mined, smelters would be built and crude lead would be made ready for market. During the autumn of 1871 Murphy and Davis built a smelter north of First street, about in the location of what is now B and Joplin streets, and employed a large force of men.

Shortly afterward the Joplin Mining and Smelting Company, with a capitalization of $200,000 and financed largely by Kansas City capitalists, began the development of land in Joplin creek valley.

By the winter of 1871 what less than a year before had been a pioneer farm was a thriving city. In January, 1872, Joplin boasted one general store, three grocery stores, a hardware store, one furniture store, a pawn shop, two livery barns, a news stand, meat market, boot and shoe store, dry goods store, drug store, restaurant, bakery, barber shop, a hack line, four saloons and several smelters. Murphysburg had about half that number of business houses, but claimed four hotels and a billiard parlor "extra."

Cross-State Travel 100 Years Ago.

From *Missouri Intelligencer*, December 20, 1823.

The following advertisement which appears in the *Missouri Intelligencer* for December 20, 1823, gives an idea of the stage-coach service one hundred years ago.

"St. Louis and Franklin Stage.

"This line will run through in three days.

"Fare. From Franklin to St. Charles, $9.00; St. Charles to St. Louis, $1.50.

"Ferriage included.

"Fourteen pounds of baggage to a passenger.

"One hundred and fifty pounds extra baggage equal to one passenger.

"All baggage at the risk of the owner.

"Careful and attentive drivers have been provided and the accommodation of passengers will be particularly attended to."

The 100th Anniversary of the Jesuits Coming to St. Louis.

By *Sylvester Soulard* in *Know St. Louis*, May 27, 1923.

It was just a hundred years ago, Sunday, May 20th, that a little band of twelve men, fathers and brothers of the Society of Jesus, two of them priests, seven scholastics and three coadjutor brothers, at the instigation of the Most Reverend Louis William Du Bourg, Bishop of Louisiana, in conference with President James Monroe and his Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, set foot on the soil of St. Louis, stepping off the ferry boat at the foot of Market street, to enter upon the task of educating the children of the Indians who then occupied the region. This work was endorsed by the Federal Government at Washington, as it was believed that the training of the Indians by the Jesuits, who had acquired a very noble reputation in that field of human endeavor, would help prevent further wars and depredations on the part of the Indians, and would aid the Government at Washington in bringing about more peaceful relations between the settlers and the red men generally.

The kindly old French fathers began their work with hopeful hearts and in time earned the love and respect of even those who most widely differed with their religious beliefs. The work of the Jesuits was started in a little log hut at Florissant in St. Louis county, just a century ago. Soon three missions were started, two of them in South Dakota and one in Wyoming. Every encouragement was given to the little band, which was headed by Rev. Charles Van Quickenbourne, Rev. Peter J. Timmermans, Father Peter John de Smet, who afterwards became famous as an Indian missionary, and Rev. Peter John Verhagen, who later was elected first president of St. Louis University.

These men came from Baltimore in wagons, over the rough trails to Wheeling, West Virginia. There they built two flatboats and floated down the Ohio river to Louisville, going from there to Shawneetown, from which point they made the 140 mile journey to the river bank opposite St. Louis, a good deal of the trip having been made on foot. It took them six weeks to make the journey and to arrive at the point first traversed 150 years before by their predecessor, Father Marquette. They began their school for the Indians at Florissant, and later on established a little college on Second street, between Walnut and Market. As the years passed they established other colleges in Kentucky, Nebraska, Wisconsin and Missouri.

Rebuilding Academic Hall

By S. P. DORMAN in *The Missouri Alumnus*, April, 1923.

It was back at the regular session of the Legislature of 1893; the main building of the University was in ruins; then, as now, the columns stood, silent sentinels of an honored and noble past.

Major Bradley of Bates county was one of nature's worthiest men. He had served in the Mexican War, had made the overland trip to California in the stirring times of 1849, had served four years in the Civil War, was wounded seven times and, because of exposure and strenuous adventures, he was afflicted in his elderly days with rheumatism and weakened health. Notwithstanding this, he had been elected state senator and was Chairman of the Committee on Enrolled Bills. The writer was appointed clerk of that committee, and had written many bills for sundry members of the House and Senate.

One day Senator Bradley requested the writer to prepare a bill authorizing the county court of Bates county to use, at their discretion, more of the county license money, which the law pro-rated to the several townships, so that the court could repair a mud hole between Papinsville, where the senator lived, and Butler, the county seat. This was all the commission given. A bill was pending at that time for the appropriation of $250,000 to rebuild the main building of the University, but there were no funds in the treasury to make it effective.

In preparing the amendment, the writer, well knowing these conditions, doubled the state tax, which added $300,000 per year to the state and doubled the amount of county license going into the road fund. Permission was given to double the license charge to compensate for taking away one-third from the revenue fund and diverting it to the road fund.

In explaining the changes made to the law by the amendment, the senate was greatly pleased. The discretion given the county court to use all or any part of said funds in one or more townships was all his county court needed, but he was more than pleased that they would have twice the former amount of money in the road fund, and that by doubling the

state license it put the friends of the University behind the bill and insured its passage.

When the bill came up for engrossment the senator was sick in bed at his hotel, and, as his committee clerk, the writer explained the situation and asked another senator to call it up. The senate amended the bill by striking out the increase tendered the county and engrossed it. This placed it on the senate calendar for the third reading and subsequently the writer again had to have another senator call it up for final passage. It passed with little opposition, receiving a two-thirds vote for the emergency clause.

Again by request of the writer, Mr. W. H. Davis, representing Henry county, took charge of the bill in the House. All the writer now had to do was to explain the main features of the bill to the leading members, including Speaker Mabry, and the bill promptly passed the House, but, by oversight, the emergency clause was not put to a vote.

The Speaker, Mr. Davis, and the writer were passing along the sidewalk, after the noon recess, and Mr. Mabry suddenly recalled the failure to vote the emergency clause. It was then determined that as the law would go into effect before the next semi-annual payments were due it would not be necessary to call the bill up again, as it was already passed.

Not only was the money forthcoming to rebuild the Academic Hall, but Jackson county promptly began, with an enlarged road fund, to build the most extensive system of rock roads of any county in Missouri.

Senator Bradley had introduced the amendment with an explanation of what it proposed to do, thus giving it the prestige and influence of a worthy and honored name and making the passage of the bill a comparatively easy matter. Afterward, when he went to Columbia, he was feted and banqueted and made the lion of the tribe of Judah, as the genius who had mastered a difficult situation.

All this because he was thoughtful enough to be in favor of good roads at a time when such proponents were few, even if his purpose was the repairing of a mud hole on the road he traveled himself.

PERSONALS.

John M. Eagan: Born March 26, 1848, at Springfield, Ill.; died May 9, 1923, at Amboy, Ill. In 1869 he came to Missouri and worked for eight years on the North Missouri Railroad, now a part of the Wabash system. Later he served in executive positions with several large western railways, coming to Kansas City in 1904 as president of the Kansas City Terminal Railway Company. In 1910 he was elected president of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company of Kansas City and served until 1916.

Hon. Joseph W. Folk: Born October 28, 1869, at Brownsville, Tenn.; died May 28, 1923, at New York City. He was graduated in law from Vanderbilt University and began the practice of his profession in St. Louis about 1890. He was elected circuit attorney in 1900 and in this office made a record as an opponent of graft. He was elected governor of Missouri in 1904. During his term of office laws were passed abolishing race track gambling, an anti-trust law was passed, two-cents-a-mile railway fare was established and the initiative and referendum was inaugurated. During the Wilson administration Mr. Folk was solicitor for the State Department. Later he served as chief counsel for Interstate Commerce Commission. Since 1919 he had been practicing law in Washington, D. C.

Hon. Patrick F. Gill: Born in Independence, Mo., August 16, 1868; died in St. Louis, May 20, 1923. He was educated at St. Louis University and engaged in the grocery business in St. Louis after his graduation. He served one term as clerk of the circuit court in St. Louis and was elected to Congress from the eleventh district in 1908.

Hon. W. Wallace Greene: Born in Jackson county, Mo., October 13, 1871; died at Kansas City, June 30, 1923. Mr. Greene was educated at William Jewell College and the Kansas City School of Law. In 1908 he was elected state senator from the seventh Kansas City district and was re-elected twice, serving in all twelve years. He was counselor for the real estate board of Kansas City and prominent in his profession in that city.

T. J. Hedrick: Born in Tennessee; died at Buckner, Mo., May 29, 1923. He came to Missouri in early youth and located at Buckner. He had served as a member of the state fair board and the Republican state committee. In 1921 he was appointed a commissioner on the state grain warehouse commission.

Hon. John A. Kurtz: Born in Dade county in 1879; died at Jefferson City, June 17, 1923. He graduated in law from the University of Missouri in 1908 and had practiced since his graduation in Kansas City. He was appointed as

a member of the public service commission of Missouri in December, 1921, and was shortly thereafter made chairman of that body.

Hon. Malcolm G. McGregor: Born at Wadsworth, Ohio, January 15, 1843; died at Carthage, Mo., April 25, 1923. He came to Missouri in 1865 and studied law in Kansas City and Lexington, being admitted to the bar in 1866. He settled in Carthage shortly thereafter and was very active in the pioneer life of that community. In 1880 he was elected circuit judge and served twelve years in that capacity.

Hon. Hugh J. McIndoe: Born in Wisconsin, July 14, 1864; died at Jefferson City, May 29, 1923. He was educated at Corbell College, Iowa, and practiced law at Joplin. He served one term in the Missouri state senate and was the first mayor of Joplin under the commission form of government. He was appointed public service commissioner by Governor Hyde in May, 1921.

Hon. Norman A. Mozley: Born in Johnson county, Ill., in 1866; died at Bloomfield, Mo., May 11, 1922. He came to Stoddard county as a young man and studied law while teaching school there. In 1894 he was elected to Congress from the fourteenth district and served one term. In 1918 Mr. Mozley was elected a supreme court commissioner for Missouri, but resigned in 1921 because of failing health. He was serving as a delegate-at-large in the constitutional convention at the time of his death.

Charles Parsons Pettus: Born at St. Louis, October 15, 1876; died at Latrobe, Pennsylvania, June 22, 1923. He received his education at Smith Academy and Washington University, graduating from the latter in 1899. He engaged in the banking business and was elected vice-president and director of the American Trust Company of St. Louis in 1920. He took an active part in civic affairs and at the time of his death was a member of the board of directors of the St. Louis Museum of Fine Arts, St. Louis County Club, County Day School, Mercantile Library Association, and was secretary of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis.

Hon. Frank F. Rozzelle: Born in Scott county, Kentucky, in 1857; died at Hermosa Beach, California, May 30, 1923. He came to Missouri with his parents as a child and was educated at the University of Missouri and the University of Michigan. He then located in Kansas City for the practice of law and took an active part in Democratic politics. He was appointed a member of the Kansas City police board by Governor Francis, resigning in 1891 to accept a position as city counselor. He served again as police commissioner under Governor Folk.

Rev. Frank W. Sneed: Born near Sedalia, Mo., in 1863; died at Baltimore, Maryland, March 11, 1923. He was educated at Westminster College and McCormick Theological Seminary. He held pastorates in Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and Columbia, Missouri. At the time of his death he was pastor of the Washington and Compton Avenue Presbyterian Church in St. Louis.

William Corbet Steigers: Born at St. Louis September 15, 1845; died in that city May 26, 1923. He served with the Union forces during the Civil War and in 1868 entered newspaper work in the city of St. Louis. When the St. Louis *Post* and *Dispatch* were united he became advertising manager and later business manager and second vice-president of the Pulitzer Company, which latter position he held at the time of his death.

Robert H. Stockton: Born at Mt. Sterling, Kentucky, July 5, 1842; died at St. Louis, Missouri, April 27, 1923. He came to Missouri as a boy of ten, served in the Civil War under General Sterling Price, and shortly after the war located in St. Louis. In 1892, with L. L. Culver, he organized the Majestic Manufacturing Company and since 1899 had been president of that company. He also had other extensive business interests in St. Louis and was a director of the Missouri Historical Society of that city. He gave largely to Christian Church philanthropies, Culver-Stockton College at Canton, Missouri, having been named in honor of him and Mrs. Culver, wife of his business partner, because of their liberal donations to that institution.

Bishop Daniel Sylvester Tuttle: Born at Windham, New York, January 26, 1837; died at St. Louis, Missouri, April 17, 1923. He was educated at Columbia University and the General Theological Seminary, and at the age of thirty was made bishop of Utah, Montana and Idaho. He had been head of the Missouri diocese since 1886 and at the time of his death was presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States and the oldest Anglican Bishop, in point of service, in the world.

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